

STUDY OF COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS APPOINTED
BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FOR TRIBAL WELFARE
IN POST-INDEPENDENT INDIA



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PART I : INTRODUCTION

Background

The tribal groups of India were discriminated against since the days of colonialism. These isolated groups living in areas of barbarism formed the under-privileged strata of Indian Society. When India became Independent in 1947, concern for tribals became a challenge for the entire Indian nation. The Indian Constitution itself protects rights of these groups of different ethnic origins that had remained confined to a territory and with their own simple forms of government. Even their present lot leaves scope for much improvement. The current effort is to integrate the tribal communities into the national mainstream by securing their participation in formulation and implementation of schemes for their betterment. There has been adequate tribal articulation through various movements.

A few of the articles in the Indian Constitution that testify to the enshrinement of the rights of these groups in the Constitution are mentioned below. Article 46 makes it the duty of the State to promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections - the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in particular, and to protect them from

situation and recommend strategies and programmes to further tribal interests. These mechanisms were specifically created to ensure for the tribals equity and social justice, by eliminating their exploitation, protecting their rights and giving them equal opportunities as Indian citizens.

Tribal Development

The concept of a pan-Indian tribal development originated in the Constitution of India in 1950. In the preceding two and a half decades, approaches to tribal development have also been spelled out by the various Committees and Commissions appointed specifically for their betterment. Finally in 1974, the Basic Policy Papers re-defined the concept as an integrated tribal development, the approach as an 'area approach' and emphasized tribal participation in all matters relating to their welfare. The tribal approach to development was also considered important.

Objectives:

The present study seeks to make an appraisal of the impact of the various Committees and Commissions appointed by the Government of India for tribal welfare. Its objectives is to review the terms of reference and recommendations of these reports and the subsequent

action of the Central Government. It will also study the concurrences, the contradictions and their resolving, by modifications and alterations, will also be looked into. The study will also consider whether the recommendations helped in the emergence of a progressive policy of tribal development.

Approach

The findings of this Study are premised on contents of documentary sources as the plans and policy papers of the Government, various reports of the Committees and Commissions appointed by the Government of India and interviews of persons responsible for policy formulation and implementation.

In focussing on the terms of reference, recommendations, concurrences and contradictions, if any, and the steps taken to resolve these, as also the action taken by the Central Government by way of implementation, some of the facts considered will be : formulation of new policies, programmes, legislative action, allocations of funds, tribal response and social relevance of development programmes.

For the convenience of exposition, the present study with an inter-temporal span of two decades, has been divided into three sub-periods :

1. 1949-1959
2. 1960-1969
3. 1970-1974

The presentation of the study is in three parts :

- I. Introduction
- II. Gist of the reports studied
- III. Conclusion.

Reports Studied

This study has reviewed the following reports that have been referred to in this study after the respective Chairman of the bodies constituted :

<u>Chairman and Body</u>	<u>Year of Constitution of the Committee</u>	<u>Year of Publication</u>
1. Remuka Ray Committee	1958	1959
2. Surendra Singh Committee	1959	1959
3. Elwin Committee	1959	1960
4. Dhebhar Commission	1960	1961
5. Bhargava Committee	1961	1961
6. Hari Singh Committee	1965	1965
7. Shilu Ao Committee	1966	1969
8. Bawa Committee	1971	1973
9. Appu Committee	1971	1973

The Basic Policy papers of 1974 have been referred to only for the purposes of indicating the new approach to tribal development.

In sum, the study will enable us to judge whether the recommendations of these Committees and Commissions had any bearing on the various phases of tribal development in post-Independent India.

This resume is probably the first detailed study of the Committees and Commissions for tribal welfare of the Central Government after India became a Republic in 1949.

PART II - GIST OF THE REPORTS STUDIED

1. Report of the Renuka Ray Committee : Volumes I & II (1959)

The Report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes * with Renuka Ray as Chairman is the earliest important document that deals with the concept of tribal welfare at the national level and plans for a phased developmental programme. Originally constituted in May 1958 with four other members, the team, after its reconstitution in July 1958 had six other members. This report was forwarded in two volumes in July 1959 to the Chairman, Committee on Plan Projects. The core of the contents of Volume I is given below. No separate reference is made to Volume II which contains some special studies, the Research Unit's findings, four reports and discussions¹ as these too detailed for our purposes. References to these have been made where necessary.

Terms of Reference:

The terms of reference require the team to study the programme of work relating to social work in the Central and State Sectors with a view to economy and with particular reference to

* Backward Classes in the Plan refer to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Denotified Communities and other Backward Classes.

the work of the Central Social Welfare Board. These include :

1. Necessary modifications in the content of the programme, the scheme of various sectoral priorities and the set objectives.
2. Changes required in the methods for programme implementation and, in particular, review arrangements for coordination among the CSWB, the centre and States and among the local Central and State bodies.
3. Quality of personnel for implementation, formulation of training schemes to improve upon these with special reference to the creation of a cadre of workers to administer the programme.
4. Assessment to the extent to which local initiative is utilised and in creating institutions to ensure management of the programme in future of the local community itself.
5. To make suggestions leading to economy in programme and efficiency in utilisation of resources and expediting working of the programme.

The team was also to advise on the feasibility and necessity of evaluation machinery of a continuous nature for both types of

Projects and on methods adopted for reporting upon results of the programme. Two distinct area of welfare measures viz. social welfare and welfare of backward classes were to be studied. Each area covered many schemes and programmes on a country-wide scale.

Contents :

The Report consists of VIII parts. Part I is introductory; Part II deals with Social Welfare; Part III deals with Welfare of Backward Classes with one chapter dealing with Welfare and Development Programmes for Scheduled Tribes, another with the office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the third with Denotified Communities; Part IV deals with Welfare and Development Programmes for Scheduled Tribes, another with the office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the third with Denotified Communities; Part IV deals with Administration, Training and Evaluation; Part V with Economy and Efficient Utilisation of Resources; Part VI with Annexures; Part VII with Recommendations and Part VIII with Maps and Charts.

Salient Features of the Recommendations :

Some of the salient features of the team's recommendations

for welfare programmes for the Scheduled Tribes with integration of these groups into the normal community as a major social objective are mentioned below. The central purpose is to bring these groups up to the level of the rest of the community but the team's stress is on the actual working out of welfare policies and programmes for tribals. The suggestion is for introduction of economic criterion in the administration of all forms of assistance to the Scheduled Tribes. The concept accepted by the team is that the family is the basic unit around which all welfare programmes should be built and that women and children should be treated as separate entities to be served in isolation. Child welfare, preventive services and youth welfare are listed as priorities.

The Commission's findings are that the earlier numerous schemes designed for tribal betterment were not need based and an advantageous as such, not to tribals. At times, the central purpose of integration is defeated. For instance, the building of separate hostels or residential colonies for Scheduled Tribes have resulted in accentuation of segregation.

Priorities in Tribal Welfare:

The Benuka Ray Committee recommends simultaneous attention for the following three broad priorities in the field of tribal

welfare :

1. Economic Development and Communications.
2. Education, and
3. Public Health.

The team advises the ascertaining of area and community specific priorities before the launching of any programme as no rigid order of priority is universally applicable in actual operation.

The suggestions include welfare activities and developmental programmes under the broad heads of economic development, communications, education, public health and housing. The special Multi-purpose Blocks opened in 1957 are an integral programme of intensive development co-sponsored and supported by the Ministries of Community Development and of Home Affairs.

If the financial allocation for a programme is taken as any index of the priority accorded to the scheme, the highest priority is for economic development for which a provision of about Rupees 10 crores has been made in the Second Five Year Plan. Communications, education, multi-purpose blocks, housing and public health follow in that order of priority.

Assessment:

In attempting an assessment of fluid and complex situation, a

difficult task, the Renuka Ray Committee comments that in working on plan schemes, undue haste often results in passivity, 'a disposition to accept but not to do'.² Rapid development may be desirable to keep pace with other regions but progress has to be gradual. Yet, malnutrition, exploitation and disease are tragic and urgent problems. Further a progress expected within 5 years in a well developed area will take 10 or 15 years among the tribes. Hence, a practical and realistic approach is advised. It should be simple and direct. Much money alone cannot lead to results. Thus, in the recognised policy of eventual integration, stress is laid on the tribal conditions and the actual working out of welfare policies and programme.

Earlier studies have revealed that too many attempts result in little achievement. Other constraints are insufficient numbers of right personnel and over-administration, cautioned against by the Prime Minister and resisted or resented by the tribals. Complex and multiple schemes confuse the tribal. Hence the committee's plea is for simple plans for tribals. Programmes could concentrate initially on a few tribal felt needs. This would evoke tribal response. Elaborate programmes and wasting time and energy on non-essentials are to be avoided. An expensive and huge school building is an illustration in point.

Personnel :

The poor quality of officials employed in the Multi-Purpose Blocks (MPBs) is commented upon. Postponement or cancelling of posting, or an uninterested and dispirited attitude are to be avoided. Posting to tribal areas are to be regarded as a challenge to an officer's creativity and originality to discover tribal talent. Sufficient incentives are recommended to draw officers of high caliber. These may be in the form of extra allowances, free housing facilities and educational benefits to children.

The attitude of the officer towards tribals also requires to be corrected. Ethnocentrism on his part has to be dispelled. The tribal weltanschauung must be respected, the ethos studied, and the officer must approach the tribals as a friend, philosopher and guide. He has to translate programmes and communicate ideas to the beneficiaries in an effective manner.

Land, Agriculture and Forests

Any scheme of economic development of tribals must relate to land, agriculture and forests. The team states that in the tribal economy, as in the national economy, agriculture is of primary importance. A scrutiny of the outlay on agriculture in the First and Second Plans makes evident the scope for a higher priority to

agricultural schemes for tribal benefit. A better performance is also called for. The team's recommendations are primarily directed towards three objectives :

1. Restoration and preservation of tribal rights over land and forests,
2. Introduction of scientific jhuming, and
3. Improvement of agricultural practices for better production of food.

Land Rights

The Committee states that the extension of the rule of law in the field of land rights has resulted in the progressive extinction of the original rights of tribals over their lands, at least by virtue of the first occupation. The Committee's important declaration here is that arresting the process is necessary if reversal of the process were not possible. Restatement of tribal rights over land in unambiguous terms is imperative. Abolition of intermediaries as sub-tenants or underyots in some areas has resulted in direct relationship of tribals with the State only in few areas. The weak socio-economic tribal status prevents their taking full advantages of the scheme. The Committee recommends two steps :

1. Surveying areas of cultivable land, or ascertaining the

extent and location of land available for allotment and reclamation.

2. Preparing a plan of allotment giving due emphasis to allotting land to shifting cultivators and landless tribals.

During 1951 - 55 allotment of 2,55,595 acres of land to tribals in Scheduled Areas (S.As.) in Bihar, Bombay, and Hyderabad is reported under the Bhodan movement but the actual settlement scheme belies expectations raised by these otherwise impressive figures.

Land Settlement

The inadequate quality of land given to tribal allottees and its insufficient quantity of bare maintenance arises partly from high pressure of population on land. But in view of inadequate financial, material and technical assistance available to tribals, the Committee recommends 4 measures :

1. Encouraging tribal settlement on land on a cooperative basis where permissible and favourable.
2. Promotion of cooperative cultivation in insufficient but compact and contiguous stretches of land.
3. Giving adequate assistance to tribes to enable maximum benefits out of allotted land, and
4. Providing supplemental subsidiary occupations.

Land Tenure :

Protecting tenure of tribal land is a measure of equal importance. In states such as Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan legislative measures have been enacted to protect land rights of backward classes. In other states, there is recognition of the need for special legislation. Enactments have prevented land alienation to some degree and yet, loopholes render laws ineffective. On the other hand, Jhum Land Regulations promulgated in 1947 - 1948 in NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh) have proved effective. The tribal population has been given absolute right over their Jhum lands and for a certain period customary rights to Jhum land utilised or cultivated is guaranteed. Hence the team recommends review of provisions and measures protecting tribal rights over land to bring them in line with the situation prevalent. This might be done by the same Committee examining measures to end exploitation.

Soil Conservation :

The two main drawbacks of the existing soil conservation schemes are then pointed as follows :

- (1) Costliness of government schemes seeking to recover the entire cost of measures from heavily burdened cultivators, and the economical nature where government's cost

extends to technical assistance and pucca works. Only a few cultivators with preparedness and resources to meet the remnant cost contribute to the success of the latter scheme.

- (2) In the case of multi-purpose schemes for cash crops such as spices, coffee and cardamam, there is remuneration and good soil conservation. But heavy rains, a certain kind of soil, climate and topography are required for their success. Hence, limited experiments are advised.

Hence, the suggestions are for :

- a. Giving of subsidies for soil conservation measures on individual and community holdings and acceptance of tribal's labour as contribution.
- b. Working out schemes of settlement first in respect of new land and adoption of conservation as in (2) above.
- c. Linking of successful experimental schemes for cultivation on higher slopes.

Ancillary Facilities

The Commission states that there is scope for improvement in ancillary facilities as minor irrigation, and reduction of time lag.

In the case of colonisation, a major incentive to settle tribals, reversal of an approach is suggested. Colonisation should begin around places with assurance of a gainful occupation. There must be provision of suitable homesteads around allotted land making sure of a perennial source of clear drinking water nearby.

Promotive Measures :

While discussing promotive measures, the Committee's two inferences were : The inadequacy of research and experimentation at the regional level and the results of the research conducted not reaching the farmers. This necessitated two remedial measures : Desirability of research on a regional basis and the necessity of modifying the techniques and methods of extension to suit the tribal psychology. The team recommends the setting up of research and experimental farms on a regional basis, actual demonstrations on people's holdings, and selection of individual cultivators to undertake guidance in improved agricultural practices.

Scientific jhuming :

Three methods of scientific jhuming are recommended to give a scientific base to this traditional mode of agriculture. The first method prevalent in the French and Belgian Ardennes is to preserve the vitality of the stools by cutting them so that they will not

pollard readily and by not spreading them any burnt stuff. The second method is to sow suitable crops in the jhums after the ~~x~~ second year's harvest. In the third, the 'half-plot' method introduced in the NEFA, the old and new ways of jhuming are carried out side by side on two halves of the same plot. A note of caution is struck regarding two matters. In weaning away, the tribals from jhuming; and their replacement by permanent settlement, individualism should not replace the cooperative method. The cooperative approach should be consolidated and built up. The second matter relates to improve tools and implements. These should be repairable, locally manufactured where possible, moderately priced and light for mountain cattle. X

Animal husbandry

The Committee does not consider animal husbandry important in tribal development as animal power in agriculture is a novelty. Cattle are neglected and also eaten on ceremonial occasions. Hence, suggestions are for :

1. Cautions promotion of animal husbandry among tribal agriculturists.
2. Choice of tribals with a traditional lore for cattle for

development of animal husbandry.

3. Communicating to tribals the use of animal power in agriculture and provision of close supervision and guidance.

Forests

The team commends the policy adopted in NEFA, conditioned by direct interest of the tribals and not by the desire to increase revenue by exploitation of forests. Its extension is suggested to other parts of the country. The Ramuka Ray Committee sees no disharmony between the development of forest economy and promotion of interests of forest dwellers. Afforestation measures could be adopted and contractors exploiting forests and tribals should be eliminated. The team commends the success of Forest Cooperatives in Bombay State and advises adoption of the Bombay scheme with necessary minor modifications. The team recommends :

1. Increasing employment for tribals in tribal forest areas by suitable training of tribals in higher grades.
2. Introducing a system of guided management with progressive association in management and exploitation of forests.
3. Carving out of village forests for domestic use and placing

them under the management of tribal villages councils.

4. Giving the entire revenue from village forests to these councils for use in development of their villages.
5. Taking up vigorous measures for afforestation in appropriate seasons and carrying out of some operations in lean months.
6. Payment of wages partly in food and partly in cash.
7. Entrusting commercial exploitation of forests to forest labour cooperatives rather than to contractors.
8. Sponsoring of societies by official or non-official organisations and coordination by State Governments themselves.
9. Setting up of cooperatives for exploitation of minor forest products.
10. No demanding of deposits from these cooperatives. Pledging of timber or any available forest produce should be considered an adequate surety.
11. Advancing of substantial loans for cooperatives to launch the initial exploitation of forest coupes on a profitable scale.
12. There should be provision for transport and marketing.

In sum, the team's advocacy of a progressive forest policy

rehabilitating the tribals in forests and enabling them to better sustenance would have an added advantage by way of incidental substantial augmentation of the national forest wealth.

Communications

Development of communications is considered a pre-requisite for tribal economic development. The inaccessible and difficult terrain permits carrying of goods on head loads, pack animals, ponies or mules. This imposes a limitation on tribal trade and commerce.

The emphasis laid on communication is indicated partly by a provision of Rs.7.18 crores in the Second Five Year Plan for the construction of fair weather roads, jeepable roads, village approach roads, bridle paths, causeway bridges, culverts and ramparts in tribal areas. The schematic budget of the special multi-purpose blocks provides for an additional sum of Rs.1.72 crores at the rate of Rs.4 lakhs per block. The increased tempo has resulted in a steady increase in the pace of development. Shortfalls noted are by way of progress of expenditure, the two sides of the network of communications that can facilitate education and health services, and the entry of outside exploiters, the team recommends the following measures among others :

1. Sponsoring of labour cooperatives in tribal areas and giving them preference over contractors.
2. Making available the necessary technical assistance.
3. Directing linking up with the implementation of development plans in the area with extension of communications to minimise dangers of exploitations.
4. An area equivalent to that of a special multi-purpose block, namely, 200 square miles, should constitute the unit in regard to construction of main moterable road in all the main tribal and S.A.s.

Multi-purpose Blocks

The Renuka Ray Committee then discusses the new concept of special multi-purpose blocks in Scheduled and Tribal areas in April 1957. A welcome departure from the earlier piece-meal approach towards tribal development, the new scheme embodies a community approach. Into this composite scheme, various aspects of welfare and development are integrated. Co-sponsored by the Ministries of Home Affairs and Community Development, most of the 43 blocks under the scheme are located in Scheduled Areas but some are known to be located in other than Scheduled Areas. The scheme of the S.M.P.T. Blocks is in accordance with the principle of Article 244 of the

Constitution which treats certain areas as scheduled to raise the level of administration and also develop the region and its people. Extension of the same principle is recommended to areas that are predominantly tribal whether scheduled or otherwise. In the S.M.P.T. blocks the emphasis is on the programme content and in the approach, suitable orientation is towards tribal needs. Hence, an understanding of the tribal way of life, usually lacking, is suggested. The Committee states that a tribal bias is necessary. The manner of communicating progressive methods of agriculture, or the relation of education to tribal life require a special orientation to tribal life in general but to its specific customs and traditions.

Deviations:

The team mentions deviations. Reports received by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes indicate the fulfilment of many expectations. In actual practice, the coverage works out to an average of 194 villages covering a population of 39,250 spread to an area of 477 square miles. The increased coverage has resulted in a reduction of the per capita outlay from Rs. 104 to Rs. 69. The Committee recommends an examination of the coverage in each special multipurpose block to effect reasonable reduction. Since reduction of the coverage in the blocks is neither desirable nor

possible, the practice may be adopted of giving a proportionately higher budget as in the case of some C.D. Blocks.

Schematic budget

A schematic budget sets a rigid pattern resulting in lopsided expenditure. Budget allocations do not fit in with the programme requirement variable under diverse local conditions. State Governments have not made free or appropriate use of transferring funds from one head to another within the same block.

The amount of expenditure is in direct proportion to the degree of felt needs. Administrative and organizational difficulties have stood in the way inspite of the needs. In block areas, the preference indicated by villagers to the Research Unit of the Team is for agriculture, education and public health. The same holds true for utilization of these services. Free exercise of the authority of varying the schematic budgets is recommended by the team in keeping with the team's recommendation of general priorities and the felt needs of the local community.

Location :

The team suggests that the block be located in an area of tribal majority so that the tribals are among the beneficiaries and the services reach them in due proportion. Another notable shortcoming is the lack of sufficient progress in implementing economic schemes. The emphasis on supply services has not produced worth while results.

Coordination with Welfare Department

In order to associate actively the Department of Tribal Welfare with the preparation of block plans and institute subsequent implementation, a representative of the Department should ^{serve} ~~serve~~ as a member on the block committee.

Advance Planning

In spite of the shortcomings, the team feels that the M.P.T. blocks scheme remains the best approach towards tribal welfare and department. It recommends that :

1. These blocks be extended to all areas predominantly inhabited by the tribal communities. An advance survey of future requirements in terms of personnel, equipment and other sources should be made to use the pre-planning period for mobilisation of public cooperation.
2. The programme of opening new S.M.P.T. blocks be suitably incorporated in the phased schedule of covering the entire country by 1963.

Education

Record of progress

The Central and State Governments incurred a total expenditure for education of all backward classes during the first Five Year Plan

period was Rs.13.8 crores; in the Second Five Year Plan the provision was for 32.3 crores. Thus, education has received the highest priority in terms of provision in the two plans. The impressive record of figures of expenditure of Rs.3.38 crores in the First Plan and Rs.10.76 crores in the Second Plan is not borne out by an examination of the implementation of the scheme. A conclusion of certainty is not permitted regarding satisfactory progress of educational schemes as detailed statistics are not available. However, figures from Bihar and West Bengal as quoted by the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes indicated a net per centage increase.

Pattern of education

The pattern of education is a dilemma. It should not widen the gulf between the educated tribals and their own way of life and it should provide an adequate basis for socio-economic advancement. Of the two broad patterns existing in the country, one pattern is an exclusive pattern for tribals with separate schools located in tribal areas on the Ashram pattern, a different syllabus and a separate system of education. This pattern claims to provide education suited to the tribal ways of life. The other, similar to the general system of education in the country lays emphasis on a literary type of education altogether unconnected with a texture of tribal life.

In some states there is an ineffective combination of the two.

The new pattern of tribal education

The Committee's plea is for ^{en}extending the national pattern of education to tribals where bifurcation at the secondary stage would be possible. Thus, without alienating the tribals from their background, avenues would be opened up for tribal children to pursue higher education.

Dialect

In the early stages, the recommendation is that the tribe's dialect or the main tribal language of various tribes living in contiguous areas should be taught to the child. Regional and national languages should be introduced at the secondary stage.

Special Text Books :

emphasis on Tribal Culture

1. Among the recommendations are, including material related to tribal life in text books in primary schools without any substantial deviation from the general outline of the common syllabus.
2. From the secondary stage, common text books based on the integrated pattern of education are recommended. The derivation of the material to be included should be from

tribal and non-tribal sources.

Teachers

Insufficient numbers of educated and trained teachers from tribals is a constraint and affects the quality of education among the tribals also. Shortage of women teachers is one main reason for lack of progress in girl's education. The Committee advises five measures :

1. Surveys to assess the number and standards of teachers required in tribal areas, considering probable requirements in the Third Five Year Plan.
2. Regular schemes of education and training of tribal teachers to follow such surveys.
3. Recruitment of non-tribals in case of inavailability of tribals as teachers.
4. Recruitment of adequate number of women to serve in tribal areas so that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan there would be at least one women teacher in every school.
5. Offering suitable incentive to teachers working in tribal areas.

School hours and vacations

The school hours, as also vacations and holidays in tribal areas should synchronise with their occupational seasons and social festivities.

Medical and Public Health

A close look at the apparently excellent health of the tribals indicates to the contrary. Widespread ill-health among tribals is attributed to the lack of regular supply of unpolluted drinking water responsible for a number of intestinal diseases and secondly, under-nutrition is attributed to subsistence on mere wild roots and tubers during some parts of the year. Formulation of plans and provisions for medical and public health in the tribal areas testify to the Committee's recognition of tribal poverty resulting in their malnutrition. In the First Five Year Plan the provision was for Rs.1.54 crores. In the Second, provision was to the order of Rs.5 crores. In spite of the record of physical targets in the way of two Five Year Plans by way of establishment of dispensaries, medical centres, health and mobile units and construction or repair of wells, the performance in relation to qualitative and quantitative urgency cannot be regarded as very satisfactory.

The major needs of the Scheduled Tribes in the field of public health can be enumerated in the following order of priority :

1. Drinking water facilities.
2. Eradication of major diseases, e.g. leprosy, yaws and malaria.
3. Normal medical facilities, and
4. Maternity and child welfare.

Tribal groups opt to depend upon their own indigenous medicines and on herbal treatment. Superstitions prevent the acceptance by tribal women of a trained mid-wife. Hence the committee recommends the following measures as composite schemes with high powered drive till a definite impact is made on the situation. Among the recommendations the first two are for perⁿsonal and protected water supply to villages with the idea of universal coverage. Two others relate to eradication of major diseases by establishment of outdoor centres dispensaries and mobile units and campaigns in cooperation with appropriate international and United Nations agencies. For an effective health education programme, a far-reaching follow-up service with detailed case-records is recommended. Simultaneously, research in tribal medicine and a programme of health education is necessitated. Suitable incentives are suggested to attract qualified health personnel.

Housing for Tribals

The Committee does not accord a high priority for tribal housing and envisages three situations necessitating provision for houses for tribals :

- (a) those continuing jhuming cultivation when allotted land for permanent settlement.
- (b) Nomadic tribes requiring settlement.
- (c) Those alienated from land and deprived of house sites on account of construction of dams, industrial plants or other development projects.

There are instances of unsuccessful housing schemes for tribals, as in the case of habitable but unoccupied colonies in Bigampandar in Keanjhar District, Orissa. Hence besides the three stipulated conditions, the Committee recommends:

- (a) Close association of the tribals in the designing, planning and construction of houses which should approximate to their essential features and natural habitat.
- (b) Retention of some earlier essential features.
- (c) Individual or collective involvement of tribals.
- (d) Development of the colony into a regular neighbourhood and their education to maintain the colony.

Central and State Institutes of Tribal Welfare

Institutes of research in the States subsequent to the recommendations of the Commissioner for Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes have underlined the importance of applied research in continuously improving tribal administration and development. The Ramuka Ray

Committee regards the nature and scope of the existing research schemes somewhat inadequate. Closer and more purposeful cooperation between the tribal welfare departments and research institutes is recommended. The Committee stresses the need for applied as against academic research, the need for sufficient funds and staff, suggests regional research so that there may be a bearing on the national policy and states that coordination at the central level is very essential.

Reorganisation of tribal institutes is suggested to cover functions as preparation of comprehensive monographs on major tribes, the publishing of informative literature, and conducting of short-term courses for personnel working in tribal areas. The Committee also recommends the establishment of Central Institute of Tribal Welfare to be headed by a highly qualified Director assisted by suitable research staff to function under the same Union Ministry dealing with tribal affairs. Four functions are recommended for the Institute :

1. Co-ordination of research on an all-India basis.
2. Studying special intra and trans-state problems.
3. Pooling ideas and disseminating them to State Governments and other authorities, and
4. Providing expert advice and guidance.

Industrial Cooperatives

The Committee also stresses the importance of cooperatives in tribal life stressing, as a followup to forest cooperatives, stress on follow-up programmes for industrial cooperatives, labour and housing cooperatives. Many cottage industries schemes provided for a cash subsidy, an interest free loan or free supply of equipment, tools and implements. Every aspirant to industries does not get assistance out of this provision, or else, there is no follow-up to discover whether he has actually settled down in his trade. More instructions are attempted to rehabilitate them through organised cooperatives. In the field of handicrafts and village industries, successful Industrial Cooperatives are rare. The Committee's recommendations are that :

1. Financial assistance should be made available to the successful trainees or to their cooperatives in two parts, non-recurring and recurring.
2. Grants should be given outright for the cost of non-recurring equipment and the advance as a loan in easy terms of the provision for recurring expenses.
3. Terms of financial assistance should be regulated so that net profits go to the cooperative societies and not to the Government, as in the case with regard to certain types of forest cooperatives in some parts of the country.
4. Schemes of a commercial nature should be started after

securing in advance arrangements for raw material and marketing. Marketing possibilities should be ascertained after survey of the demand for the particular commodity is made.

Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

The Commissioner then discusses the qualifications and the background of the post of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. He should preferably be a non-service person at present and should aptly and independently discharge the functions of the Commissioner.

Denotified Communities :

The Committee also deals with the matter of denotified communities. Change in nomenclature is recommended from 'criminal' or 'ex-criminal' to 'denotified' communities. The Committee recommends the following measures : (i) adoption in practice of a correctional and welfare approach as against a penal one in rehabilitating these communities. (ii) Isolation of habitual criminals and their treatment under the ordinary law of the land. (iii) Providing substantive economic content for denotified communities with the tribal adventurous spirit and traditional skills in view. A simultaneous economic programme and a dynamic and suitably oriented programme of social education so as to wean them away from socially undesirable

tendencies. Three avenues should be opened out to every individual after starting production-cum-training centres :

1. Work as an individual artisan
2. Seeking employment in any vocation or trade in public or private sectors, and
3. Organisation of producer's cooperatives or industrial cooperatives.

Government's lead is recommended in offering denotified communities employment in Government with a view to removing the stigma attached to these tribes in the past. The opening of community welfare centres is suggested to focus on women and children to motivate them to a new way of life. Measures adopted should provide new education to these children without alienating them from these families.

Action Initiated :

The implementation of the main measures suggested by the Renuka Ray Committee is considered below. These are significant as the Committee lays more stress on application more than on formulation of a theoretical model of mere conceptualisation and on tribal bias as the central focus of welfare programmes.

1. The integrated approach with a balanced order of priorities is envisaged as a trilinear and inter se approach. The simultaneity suggested in tribal welfare priorities, listed as Economic Development,

Communications, Education, Primary Health and Housing with agriculture forestry, handicrafts and village industries forming the base of tribal economic development. The financial allocation is detailed below :

All States and Union
Territories. Provision in
the Third Plan

Economic uplift	37.12 crores
Education	14.48 "
Health, housing and other schemes	9.95 "
	<hr/> 61.55 crores

2. The Ramuka Ray Committee comments on the rigidity of the schematic budget that provides in detail resource distribution under different heads. In the Third Plan, the proposal is that about 60 per cent be allotted by economic uplift, 25 per cent for communications and 15 per cent for social services with the suggestion that for tackling effectively the problem of drinking water supply further resources might be secured from the provision for economic uplift.

3. The recommendation that officers of a high calibre be posted to tribal areas, that adequate incentives be offered to attract them, that they be trained in knowledge of tribal culture and tribal officers be increasingly appointed to posts from the village to state level

has been acted in few states. In the Mizo Hills, for instance, since 1963, the Deputy Commissioner, who was then the seniormost civil servant, was given an extra allowance of Rs.400 per month. But at lower level more incentives are necessary in most states. In Assam, an award of Rs.1,000/- with a proficiency certificate is given to officers reaching a certain level of proficiency in tribal dialects. A few non-tribal officers with excellent records of service have also been posted to tribal areas in Madhya Pradesh and the North-east. And the development work done during their critical times has been appreciated by all sections, including tribals.

There is increasing involvement of tribal officers in development schemes as functionaries in the micro-unit of the village, the meso-level of the Block and the macro-level of the State. Nagaland had a tribal development Commissioner in the early sixties. And currently the Madhya Pradesh Cooperative Agency is headed by a tribal. Courses in Tribal Development are conducted in Ranchi, in the Forest Research Institute, and the Indian Institute of Public Administration since 1975. The Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay offers a one-year diploma in social work among tribals. In both places, the focus is on tribal culture and these courses are attended by both tribals and non-tribals.

4. The Ramuka Ray Committee has advised the initiating and encouragement of cooperatives in tribal areas. Accepting this, the Government has

recommended the model of the earliest cooperative movement in Bombay started in 1946-1947 for other States to follow. The success of this body is attributed in no small measure to the association of non-official bodies with it. Corporations in Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh the former in particular testify to this. Tribals of Himachal Pradesh have responded well to schemes for dairy-keeping.

5. As suggested by the Committee, Government and non-official bodies are trying to revive and modify indigenous institutions for welfare work. The 'Nokpanthe', 'Kebang', 'Akhr:' and 'Ghotul' are possible catalysts to help in furthering development. In Garo Hills in October 1978, Christians were building youth dormitories for boys to function as the Nokpanthe and plans were to use it as a hostel.

6. Earlier in the study it is stated that the Renuka Ray Committee's advice on agriculture revolves round three objectives - restoration of tribal rights over land and forests aggravated by pressure due to increase in population, introduction of scientific 'jhuming' and improvement of agricultural practices for better production. The Third Plan also spells out a progressive concept of agriculture. An increasing number of farmers and tribals among officials attend courses and demonstrations in Indian and Foreign Agricultural Universities. There is increasing communication of

of modernisation in agriculture to tribal areas but the acceptance by tribals is only partial.

7. There is legislative enactment in various states of tribal rights over land. The following, for instance, have as the goal preventing alienation of tribal land :- 1. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Area Land Transfer Regulation 1959 and its extension 2. Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Laws (Extension and Amendment) Regulation 1963. 3. The Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue Code, 1959. Besides, in the Bhoodan Movement, 55,2,55,595 acres of land were allotted to Scheduled Tribes in Scheduled Areas in Bihar, Bombay and Hyderabad. But, the allotment of 1,2 and 5 acres of land are insufficient quantity and quality to the tribal allottee.

8. The Committee's advocacy of a progressive forest policy sees no conflict between tribal and scientific interest and approach to the Government forests. The theme has been the concern of the Central Forestry Commission and researches have been conducted at the Forest Research Institute at Deen and State Forest Institutes as in Assam. Two measures in existence for protection of tribal rights as the right to minor forest produce were (i) Formation of Forest Labourer's Cooperatives Societies in Bombay in 1946-1947 and

(ii) Establishment of Andhra Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation, registered in 1956. Madhya Pradesh has also implemented a similar scheme. Repeated pleas by Government and voluntary agencies for application and implementation of the Minimum Wages Act to labourers and ensuring of work continuity at least for 300 days a year have led to amendment of the Act; the last of which was in 1961. The leeway is great. An instance in point is the recent demand for the Jharkhand State where tribals demand more articulation. Tribals do not like working as road labourers, so labour has to be imported from outside.

9. The amount allotted for communications is Rs.4 lakhs per block. An additional provision is for the budget to the tune of Rs.9.18. The increased tempo of economic activity has led to a steady rise in developmental pace. But, the team's field ^{studies} reveal that expenditure account for only 33.2 per cent. A few blocks as Santrampur (Bombay), Baria (Bihar) and Barauni (Orissa) have spent 100 per cent and 97.4 per cent of the provision respectively. Most tribal villages remain inaccessible.

10. The team comments upon the composite scheme of 43 special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks. As the programme suggests, emphasis is on tribal needs. In spite of consideration of regional variation,

the poorest have not been the beneficiaries as intended. The Committee suggests location of these blocks in tribal areas. The Elwin Committee constituted specifically for the purpose deliberates further on these topics. In spite of shortcomings, the Committee advises continuation of these Blocks. But while it accords priority to Education over Public Health, in these Blocks, Rural Housing has taken priority over Health and Rural sanitation.

Beginning with 43 Blocks in April 1957, there was planning for 300 Blocks with a slight change in the criteria in the IIIrd Five Year Plan. But in June 1965, there were 450 Blocks and by the end of 1966, there were 469 Blocks. The number rose to 480 in 1970 and in 1974, to 504. At present, the entire tribal area is covered by these Blocks. In addition, there are 6 Blocks of Tribal Development agencies.

9. As per the Committee's recommendations, tribal educational schemes of Government have received high priority in terms of financial allocation. The third Plan provided for Rs.14.48 crores. But, the economic indicator alone, or the inavailability of statistics from most states does not permit a conclusion with certainty regarding the satisfactory progress or otherwise of schemes. The pattern of tribal education still remains a dilemma. Among the constraints are

few qualified teachers, difficulties of girls dropping out and wastage. The literacy percentage of tribals is half that of the Scheduled Castes.

Some recommendations of the Renuka Ray Committee that are yet to be acted upon are as follows :

1. Acceptance of the economic criteria in the administration of all forms of assistance to Scheduled Tribes and Abolition of the entire category of the so-called other Backward Classes.
2. Acceptance of the family as the unit in welfare programmes and priorities for Child Welfare, preventive services and youth welfare in forming welfare programmes.
3. Specific thinking of or action upon the Committee's formula that progress in 5 years in a well-developed area will take 10 or 15 years in a tribal area. Suggestion of speedy measures for attacking malnutrition, disease and exploitation.
4. Establishment of separate cadre of officers in tribal areas.
5. Establishment of a Central Institute of Tribal Welfare.
6. Inspite of acceptance of change in nomenclature of denotified communities numbering 4 million, no specific scheme or sustained concern has dealt with their problems.

General Comments :

1. The Report has not suggested any specific measures for economic utilisation of resources except for general recommendations e.g. concentrating on essential tribal needs and selecting a few programmes priority-wise.
2. No suggestions are made to improve coordination between the inter-regional and intra-regional bodies.
3. Working together on Committees advising or excenting programmes viz. the Project Implementation Committee has not helped in speedy implementation. Inter-disciplinary approach can be one step.

2. Surendra Singh Committee : 1959

The next document at the national level for tribal development is the Draft Report of the Inaccessible Areas Committee, 1959 appointed by the Food and Agriculture Ministry, and chaired by Surendra Singh and referred to in this study after him. Its significance lies in that it is the earliest report in the first decade of tribal development that studied agriculture, the mainstay of tribal economy, and allied topics e.g. irrigation, reclamation, soil conservation, and tribal rights over land.

As the document was not available, its inclusion in this study is not possible. However, the next Committee referred to in this study viz. the Elwin Committee has based its study partly on this report.

3. Report of the Elwin Committee : 1960

The 43 Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks (S.M.P.T.D.Bs) started in 1957 in the most under-developed and compact parts of India with the object of reaching the poorest of the population, attracted much attention. They were criticised for slow start and unmodified programmes not heeding tribal needs or their regional variations.

The Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India* appointed a Committee to examine the work and programme of these Blocks. It was chaired by Verrier Elwin with five other members including representatives of tribals and non-tribals, administrators, voluntary workers and social scientists.

Terms of Reference :

The two terms of reference of the Elwin Committee covered a wide field :

- (i) To study the working of the SMPTBs, and
- (ii) To advise the Government of India on implementation of the intensive development programme of the Blocks to give it a tribal bias.

* Resolution No. 20/170/58-SCT-III of May 1, 1959.

Mode of functioning

The Committee held many meetings, seminars and conferences, examined their recommendations, a number of State reports and documents reviewing the progress of work, the physical and financial targets in each block, visited 20 blocks and held discussions with State Government officials dealing with tribal welfare.

The Elwin Committee report, submitted on March 30, 1960 shaped the thinking on tribal welfare in the Third Five Year Plan . It has drawn heavily on two of the Reports of 1959 the Renuka Ray Committee and the Inaccessible Areas Committee.

Evolution of the Scheme of Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks :

Of the 43 tribal blocks whose total coverage was 23,540.58 square miles, 26 are in the Scheduled Areas, 6 in Tribal Areas(Assam) and 9 are in non-scheduled and non-tribal areas. The provisions of Schedule VI of the Indian constitution apply to the administration and control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in any State other than the State of Assam. The Committee mentions problems of dilution of coverage to excessive population. The tribal population numbers 12,10,976 in a total population of 16,85,325 in the Block areas. Thus, the average coverage for each Block works out at 182 villages each with a population of 39,193 spread over an area of

547.45 square miles. But the original estimate was that against 66,000 persons covered by a Community Development Block, each S.M.P.T.B. would cover 25,000 persons or 5,000 families in an area of 200 square miles. The schematic budget was for five years.

Of the total budget of 27,00,000, the Ministry of Home Affairs contributed 15,00,000 and the Community Development 12,00,000. The major amount-wise allocations of the budget were for the project headquarters followed by Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation, Communications, Rural Housing, Rural Arts and Crafts, Cooperation, Animal Husbandry and Agricultural Extension.

Assessment of the progress

The inability of states to supply up-to-date figures of expenditure of the schematic budget delayed assessment of the progress of the work and block-wise achievements in terms of physical and financial targets.

A discrepancy of over 2,00,000 was shown in each block in terms of physical and financial targets. Further, figures of State Governments on different occasions varied. Standardisation of statistics was upto September end 1959.

Special Multi-purpose Blocks and Community Development Blocks :

The modifications of the Community Development Blocks for purposes

of S.M.P.Bs are as follows :

1. Considerable reduction of population and area coverage.
2. Availability of tribal ^{fr} contribution on a lesser scale.
3. Dispensing with the loan item given earlier by way of direct subsidy.
4. Special training of personnel for tribal areas through official and non-official agencies and selection of good workers.

Approach suggested in conferences :

A basic approach to the concept of development was considered necessary for multi-purpose development in tribal areas. The following discussions emerged during a series of conferences :

1. Recommendation of priority for formulation of agricultural and marketing cooperative societies. 2. Utilisation of money intended for communications only for masonry work as bridges and causeways, earth-work being done through Shramdan, and engineers making up alignments for bridlepaths to facilitate their development into jeepable roads, and 3. The entire grant of Rs.4 lakhs provided for Irrigation, Reclamation and Soil Conservation in the schematic budget being an outright grant.

The necessity was also stressed of a multi-purpose approach, care in selecting items of implementation, acquainting officers with

tribal culture, and suitable arrangements for training the staff. In one conference, priority was recommended for forest, agricultural and marketing societies to implement best the work of intensive development blocks.

Fortyeighth Report of the Estimates Committee, 1958-1959

The following recommendations were made mainly on the evaluation of programmes and working of personnel :

1. Early commencement of plans for opening additional Special Multi-purpose Blocks during the Third Plan.
2. Consideration of deviations regarding coverage of population in Blocks with a view to reduce the coverage or suitably augment the staffing pattern of the Block.
3. Extension of benefits available to Scheduled Tribes in the special M.P.Bs due to Scheduled Castes.
4. Asking P.E.O. to evaluate the progress of these Blocks, and
5. Taking steps to attract and train the right type of personnel.

An observation of the Committee was improper planning and incorrect assessment of requirements before starting of the M.P.Bs.

Annual Conference on Community Development (May 1958) :

Main Suggestions :

1. Giving of higher priority by State Governments to the Multi-purpose Blocks.

2. Giving of incentives by State Governments to the personnel in the form of 25 per cent of the basic salary to compensate for difficult living conditions.
3. Early completion of basic survey reflecting actual tribal needs.
4. Training of local tribals to take interest in their own community and assuming responsibility for the programme of community development.
5. Taking of suitable measures for examination of indebtedness among tribals and enacting legislation to meet it.
6. Introducing credit facilities for purchasing minor forest produce at ^{low} prices.
7. Encouraging voluntary organizations to take interest in programme of development in tribal areas.

In the summer of 1959, the field workers discussed their problems and recommended among other things the following :

1. Development of tribal people in tune with their own genius and local environment.
2. Simple assessment of needs before any developmental activities commence.
3. Ensuring active participation of representatives through cooperation of the existing tribal organisations as tribal councils, panchayats and youth clubs.

4. Increasing employment of tribals in Multi-purpose Blocks.
5. Implementation of national policy of cooperative farming through village cooperatives.
6. Sharing by tribals of income from forest produce through forest labourers, cooperative societies.
7. Special legislation for survey of nature and extent of tribal indebtedness. Provision of legal aid for tribals.
8. Opening of basic schools with boarding facilities. Special emphasis on Ashram-type schools and where required provision of mid-day meals.
9. Speedy establishment of Primary Health Centres with sub-centres.
10. Giving a requisite ex-officio status to the head of the Tribal Welfare Department in planning and development set-up to ensure proper administrative coordination.

Approach of the Elwin Committee :

The Committee's approach is in tune with the policy of Jawaharlal Nehru enunciated in his five principles viz. the Panchsheel⁵. It lays stress on the creation of the right psychological climate. Remedial and practical measures suggested are : the guarantee of land adjustment of forest laws to tribal conditions, integration with the rest of the country and choice of the right officials. To the personnel working in the area, doctors and social workers, the Committee says that the challenge of Tribal India is great.

Findings :

The Elwin Committee regards as unsatisfactory the ignoring of the Prime Minister's warning about the introduction of too many outsiders into the tribal territory and his desire to build team of local leaders in all the M.P.Blocks except in Assam and Manipur. A tribal officer knows the local conditions and is the symbol of pride and confidence to the tribals. The directive not to overadminister and overwhelm people with a multiplicity of schemes is generally ignorant. Other things pointed out are priorities of wrong order, wasting of energy on ~~the~~ non-essentials (social education) and construction of unnecessary roads, whereas the exclusive concentration is advised on Agriculture and Public Health. Too much money or extra speed in work are pointed as impediments. Money has destroyed the earlier tribal spirit of cooperation and self-reliance^a. This has been the findings of Carl Taylor also in the C.D. Blocks. Emphasis is an undue stress on the spending of money and baiting of villagers to work out the improved way of living. The building of bridges and paths, or creation of a new house, reveals this.

The Elwin Committee's picture of Tribal India :

The Elwin Committee depicts the picture of Tribal India as dark. The story is one of poverty. The problems are hunger, disease, exploitation, ^{and} ignorance and of exploited people. Pressure of unfamiliar

regulations, lack of consideration in treating them and loss of many good elements in tribal culture and tradition are mentioned.

To achieve success of a programme by way of people's participation two measures are suggested : (1) Accent on simplicity^{city} of a plan, as suggested by the Renuka Ray Committee (2) Concentration of few selected programmes that have a vital bearing on the felt needs of the people. While great basic things are mentioned as food, water, healthy bodies and mobility, all funds should be allotted for Agriculture and allied subjects, for Health, and for Communications. Fundamental problems are ownership of land, amendment of the local forest rules, the revival of tribal self-government and relief of indebtedness.

The Elwin Committee suggest that work should be done in cooperation with local institution the councils, panchayats and dormitories which should work as allies and not rivals. Money alone cannot produce results. 'Twenty-seven lakh of rupees can buy things but not ment³' Good officers, acting as catalysts, act as incentive for development.

Agriculture, Land and Forests

Shifting cultivation : The Elwin Committee, in commenting on shifting cultivation refers to the comments of a committee headed by M.S. Sivaraman, Adviser to the Programme Administration of the Planning Commission who observed after a visit to the NEFA in April 1957 that

jhuming, as naturally understood, is not unscientific land use. Over-population and increasing demand on land have resulted in reduction in the cycle of 'jhuming'. But, the problem of Soil conservation persists. A major problem only in Eastern India in Assam, in Manipur and Tripura, in NEFA, Naga Hills and parts of Orissa, it is only sporadic elsewhere and is not a menace either to rainfall or forest wealth. The Elwin Committee's report mentions successful terracing of Angamis and Saoras, also ^{on} ^{the} ~~contar-~~ ^{building}, change in the system of land tenure and introduction of cash crops. With non-tribals ^rentering the area, there is also the problem of land alienation.

Forests :

The Elwin Committee mentions next the forest that satisfy a deep spiritual urge and also provide food. The rules of Government which have come from the British have successfully eroded into the earlier privileges of tribals living in the forest sustaining them. Needs were few and simple and there was no increasing demand for timber as at present. The Committee states after visiting Narsampet, Paderi and Kashipur that tribals are very easily discouraged. The Koyas, Gonds and Marias begged for some relief from the burden of poverty, exploitation and frustration.

The forest policy recommended by the Elwin Committee is in furtherance of tribal interests and not mere profit or conservation.

People have to be educated about their right and rules of the Forest Department. Honouring of tribal rights is considered necessary in furtherance of the main objective of integrating the tribals and help them feel they are equal in every respect to other Indians. Increasing frustration and inevitable growth in political consciousness foretells considerable political agitation in the forest areas. The Committee suggests that love of animals can be created in tribal children early.

Mention is made of the early forest cooperative scheme in tribal areas of Bombay (now Maharashtra and Gujerat) that is being gradually copied in other states. The Committee gives an outline of a variant, less known but perhaps even more practical scheme proposed in Madhya Pradesh.

Madhya Pradesh Tribal Cooperative Development Corporation :

Object : The scheme is intended to put an end to the exploitation of tribals at the hands of forest contractors and dealers in minor forest produce in M.P. where soil conditions, slope of land in the hills and isolated forest areas do not permit sustenance of the average family throughout the year.

Approach

The decision is for gradual of the replacement by cooperative societies of forest labourers. Twenty forest labour cooperative societies

and thirty multi-purpose societies, only a few have done well.

Role :

The necessity arose of setting up the Madhya Pradesh Tribal Cooperative Development Corporation as an apex organisation for organising, guiding, financing and controlling primary societies. This corporation, meant to function primarily as an autonomous body, is proposed to function as an agency for providing loans to tribals for non-productive purposes in due course when debt relief regulations are adopted. In addition, the society was to undertake activities conducive to promoting economic interests and social welfare of tribal communities.

Constraints

Some of the difficulties are : an in-effective cooperative department, and good managers not liking to go in tribal areas.

Animal Husbandry :

The Elwin Committee mentioned the importance of the animal husbandry schemes played down by the Renuka Ray Committee, and of schemes for fisheries. Most tribals like fish and enjoy fishing which has been developed in some places as sources of domestic food. Two more suggestions are : development of sheep-rearing in colder and

higher areas in tribal blocks and encouragement for the industry of spinning and weaving.

A further suggestion is for the due share of non-tribal in getting claims of good birds, dairy products, fish and eggs.

Communications :

A planned system of communications is recommended as the basis of all development. Roads are stated to have utility for (a) marketing of produce (b) personal travel and (c) ingress of ideas. A number of landing strips, dropping zones and roads are the only practicable means of communication at present. In some blocks as in Adhaura in Bihar and in Ranikhunj in Mikir and North Cachar Hills, poor communications impede progress. Financial statistics reveal a curious situation where some blocks have done well but others particularly those most in need of roads have made very slow progress. The Committee states that the general agreement is that communications are far more important than Social Education, Arts and Crafts and above all Housing. And yet, tribals can be both beneficiaries as also losers from roads. These can lead to corruption and exploitation. Diseases, moral decline and cultural decadenceⁿ have made cheap, inferior and vulgar goods available.

The Committee recommends slow and cheap funicular^r railways with

little maintenance cost. It also stresses the undesirability of importing labour although, as tribal life is busy with observance of festivals, funerals and weddings, tribal people ^{do} not like to participate in the seasonal work on construction available during short periods.

Health Care

The Commission recommends establishment of Primary Health Centre (PHC) as a potential unit for radiation of health care into tribal homes. The criterion recommended for location are :

1. Service to maximum numbers
2. Health problems of area as revealed by a survey
3. People's participation, and
4. Easy accessibility of referral services.

Basic services suggested are medical relief, maternal and child health care including family planning and training of dais, school health, health education, control of communicable diseases such as malaria, small pox, leprosy, yaws, goitre, small pox, venereal and other diseases communicable through drinking water. The high priority is for safe drinking water and collection of vital statistics. The priority is for malaria and small-pox.

Education

Much thought has gone into the topic of education and the resultant problems of change and tension. The Committee points out that the fundamental problems in tribal areas are similar to those in other rural areas.

Among the important recommendations of the Renuka Ray Committee regarding the pattern of education, the Elwin Committee mentions the following : the importance of not alienating tribal students from their cultural milieu^u, the necessity of imparting instruction at the primary level in the tribal languages and the problem of choice and training of teachers. It urges that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan there should be at least one woman teacher in every school. The Elwin Committee supports these recommendations. It also recommends development of tribal dialects, keeping research officers fully in the picture, frequent consultation and consideration of what they say in Cultural Research Institutes in Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and West Bengal. It also recommends establishment of more tribal, cultural and Research Institutes. It is suggested that these should lay stress on pragmatic research or research in a practical direction, and of a selective nature motivated to purposive action. Every such Institute must have an evaluation section to evaluate schemes. The recommendation is also for giving proper status

to scientific bodies with freedom to express free and objective views. Suitable rewards to officers learning tribal dialects is also recommended.

Research is recommended in anthropology, sociology and economics. Problems of research have been identified as : tribal psychological reactions, developing a separatist mentality suffering any moral decline, weakening of self-reliance, or suffering an inferiority complex in face of the technological skill of their instructors, and the effect of rapidity to support environmental and circumstantial plurality of norms. Research is also suggested in collection and research in oral literature of tribal people to give a better understanding of tribal ethos and weltanschauung and in changes in the personality structure of the tribals.

Survey of Tamia Block in Madhya Pradesh :

Dr. B.H. Mahta led a team to conduct a detailed socio-economic survey of the Tamia Block in M.P. This survey is cited by the Committee as an example par excellence of the way a Research Institute's study can inspire the cause of tribal development. Three types of surveys are recommended : (a) Preliminary survey (b) Basic survey with focus on economy and (c) A specific survey focussing on needs and problems by a recognised research section of University or a recognised

research society. The stress is on tribal foundation of problems.

Details of methods of Reporting by the Programme Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission have to worked out. The Elwin Committee spells out the following issues - figures of population, its age-wise and sex-wise distribution, main characteristic of physical environment with special attention to obstacles to development of communities, elementary data regarding basic and supportive village economy, employment of local and other tribal people, existing standards of living facilities for medical relief, education and welfare services and some information about tribes, sub-tribes and non-tribals in the Block.

The team also calls for a revival of decaying tribal institutions. Describing the varying texture of the tribal political culture, the Mehta Team studies the Khasis of Meghalaya and the Koyas of Madhya Pradesh. This data is significant from two points of view - the introduction of statutory panchayats and introducing development through cultural institutions. The earlier data e.g.: stating that there are no tribal councils in the Block is described as inaccurate or misleading. The Blocks may exist but not wield power. In others, in reality, the block has retained the spirit and mode of its functioning in many spheres.

In the confused situation, legislative measures sought to establish local self government through panchayats by various Act. In 1956 Parliament passed the Hill village Authorities Act. It was ineffective. Commenting on this, the Elwin Committee hints of a future abrogation or modification.

Voluntary organisations

Among the best known voluntary organizations, the Commission mentions the Central Social Welfare Board, the various missions and ten others. Recruitment is suggested of even uneducated tribal women, with aptitude for social work, training and ultimate absorption in their own areas. There is recommendation for a clear definition of scope of each non-official organization so that duplication of work and area is avoided.

Comments on blocks

In assessing a fluid and hence difficult situation, the Commission records certain findings. The starting of the special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks envisaged the following basis of coverage - an area of 200 square miles, a tribal population of 25,000 and per capita outlay of only Rs.65/-. But in many blocks as in Narsampet (Andhra) and Nawhatta (Bihar), the high percentage of non-tribals enjoy the benefits. The 48th Estimates Committee of Parliament questioned the justification for financing a Block with a small percentage of tribal from such funds.

A second finding is the increasing dependence of people on Government. Also, the people's participation by way of ideas and suggestions is little.

A third finding is that in some blocks a visible impact has been made on the community, where people are better fed, happier and enjoy a rich cultural life. In others, it is the apposite.

Recommendations

In view of the above, the Elwin Committee recommends that social education is one way of communicating to people. Urgent attention is also requested for health, agriculture, economy and education.

Tribal Councils

The Elwin Committee states that the same tribal councils that preserved traditional cultural values can help in initiating and smoothing other changes. As stated earlier, in the Mehta Team's report on the Tamia Block, the role of the council varies in every Block. In many blocks the councils is just an informal and simple arrangement whereby village elders meet ^u boys under the headman's leadership to settle socio-religious disputes.

Recommendations

Two solutions are offered to solve the tribal problem of self-

government: 1. Revival of existing tribal machinery and 2. Introduction of statutory panchayats. Tribal councils can command ready allegiance on account of their established position. They can be organized and developed to take powers and duties of statutory panchayats not affecting the non-tribal population. Introduction of elective principles may lead to jealousies and rivalries. Among the eleven recommendations, the following two are specific and pragmatic :-

1. Formation of tribal councils for groups of 10 to 15 villages, and
2. Representation from each village as a member of the larger body not by election but elders traditionally managing village affairs.

Location of Blocks

Commenting against political considerations not weighing in determining the location of a Block, the Committee suggests that the first preference in opening future Blocks to be given to the most underdeveloped areas. Also, that the poorest people must be the beneficiaries. The criterion suggested were inaccessibility, poverty and exploitation.

The Elwin Committee also discusses the problem of deviation raised by the Ramuka Ray Committee. The problem of dilution of

coverage due to excessive populations; only 50 per cent or even less being tribals or unwield^{di}ness of the Blocks may be sought by universal coverage of the tribal areas with special Tribal Blocks. The criteria suggested are economic need, lack of communications, an underdeveloped system of agriculture, irrigation, animal husbandry and an unhealthy environment.

Finances

The schematic budget, commented upon by the Renuka Ray Committee creates psychological paralysis as transfer of funds is restricted. The budget is expense-based and not need-based. Expenditure is on items or schemes. Buildings may elaborate or reports may be optimistic.

Development

Advising that there should be equalisation of the pace and level of development of the area and the tribe, the Committee makes the following suggestions: (i) Reduction of the money from 15,00,000 to 10,00,000 as inaccessible and under-developed blocks have too much money. (ii) Supporting of existing schemes instead of starting new ones, since the allotment of 27,00,000 on Multi-purpose Blocks will not be spent. By 1963, universal coverage by Community Development Blocks is predicted and the scheme will apply, in addition to

Scheduled and Tribal areas to all areas. In the Third Five Year Plan, the Committee anticipates that a large number of predominantly tribal areas will be covered. It advises State Governments to take tribal development more seriously.

Scheduled Areas

The Elwin Committee suggests that a large percentage of tribals is not included in Scheduled or tribal areas of the 2,25,00,00 persons classified as Scheduled Tribes, only 98 lakhs live in Scheduled or Tribal areas. The widely scattered two groups fall into two categories (1) Tribes absorbed or integrated with the large population to a degree where they cannot be classified as Scheduled Areas. (2) Tribal groups of insufficient numbers living in small pockets of the deep interior in the hills or forests of a district so that they do not come within Scheduled Areas scheme or qualify for a special Block to themselves. The Elwin Committee feels that the first group needs help because they are culturally impoverished and are exploited. The benefits of majority development are received by progressive and prosperous people.

Appropriate technology

Laying stress on appropriate technology, the Committee states that while mechanised farming is important, too elaborate machines and implements for agriculture and minor industries are deprecated.

Education

Commenting on the situation in the Blocks the Committee states that schools must have an agriculture or forestry bias in the industrialised belt of Bihar, the problem is of industrialisation overpowering the tribals. Many tribals today are psychologically poor, despise their own culture, and are losing their virtue of truth, ~~honesty~~ honesty, self-reliance and unity.

Civilization and the tribals

Many problems of tribal India mentioned earlier together make life too harsh a struggle and too great a strain. The Elwin Committee states that the fault lies with the civilized people who have robbed the tribals of their land, arts and food. New food taboos and more injurious spirits have affected adversely their diet status. Our laws have brought them bondage. Our ethnocentricism makes the tribals diffident. Hence, the best administrators, keenest doctors, expert technicians and scholars ought to work in tribal areas.

Multi-dimensional development

Commenting further on development in the special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks the Commission states that a sum of Rupees thirty crores spread over difficult and widespread areas is a modest sum for tribal development. More money cannot solve anything. The Committee expresses apprehension of rapid progress, complicated programmes and employment of inferior men.

The Committee's findings on the basis of field visits of its members and Government's officials are that a few tempo has been achieved by development schemes started slowly.

Finance

It also observed that there is a more suitable and realistic redistribution of the funds allotted with in the schematic budget; there is improvement in communications; in the ^a quality of P.L.O.s and strengthening of the field staff by appointment of additional staff.

The Committee anticipates a different pattern of expenditure and achievement by the end of the Second Five Year Plan. It again mentions the fact that because of the problem of dilution of coverage the intensive development of Special Multi-purpose Tribal Development Blocks is defeated.

Agriculture and Livestock

The Bhils and Bhilalas in the Block of the ^{Alirajpur} Committee points out, has now settled down to a regular village economy. They have given up shifting cultivation and taken to ordinary agriculture. The livestock programme was affected by a general scarcity of fodder.

Statutory Panchayats and Councils

Tribal disputes are settled by the Patels (headmen) with the help of the village elders and heads of the families. The P.E.O.

reports that statutory 'Panchayats' have been introduced but are not functioning satisfactorily and the tribals do not normally take their disputes to them. Both types of bodies have been functioning in tribal areas.

Indebtedness

Legislative measures as the enacting of the Money Lenders Act, the Usurious Loans Act and other measures have had little effect so far. A strict implementation is recommended for genuine development.

Tribal articulation and leadership

The Committee mentions the emergence of tribal leadership and the collective articulation by tribals¹ manifested through various social, political and religious movements.

Personnel

The Elwin Committee states that introduction of development means initiating planned change and since change affects culture, entire way of life and vice-versa, a high-powered person is required in the Multi-purpose Block as a Cultural officer. He needs to be a humane person with sincere interest in tribals. Commenting that suitable personnel in adequate numbers are not available, the Committee recommends that suitable incentives be given to draw qualified personnel to work in tribal areas.

Assessment

The Elwin Committee mentions that on the basis of expenditure and physical achievements, the State Bureau of Economics and Statistics made a double classification of seven Multi-purpose Blocks in the Bombay State. The gradation was as follows :

Mokhada	-	B - B
Akrani	-	A - A
Sukhsar	-	B - A
Khedbrahma	-	A - A
Aheri	-	C - B
Dharampur	-	A - B
Peint	-	A - A,B

The Committee suggests that money alone is not enough. Another finding is that the ^{common} can men habit of attributing the faults of a Block to the tribal people everywhere is rather unattractive. Thus, the Elwin Committee suggests that there must be some accountability. It also suggests an extension of the life of the Block by two years where 27 lakhs have not been spent within the five year period. The idea is to ensure the wise use of funds.

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General observations

The Elwin Committee presents universal tribal problems of exploitation, hunger and poverty and also mentions regional variations of priorities in the tribal groups.

1. The report is over-loaded on some subjects such as indebtedness and forest cooperatives and lightly loaded on others such as improvement of tribal economy. The Committee has pleaded for fair wages to tribal labour and their contribution in kind i.e. by their labour where possible.

2. The Committee's reiteration of the stand of the Renuka Ray Committee on revival of Tribal Councils is practical and pragmatic, to smoothen the twin process of alienating the shock of modernisation and smoothening the process of change and also initiating development as a natural growth. Stating that such a revival will aid the tribals to play their dual role in future India, the Committee states that they will nurture the tree of change through the strengthening of their roots.

3. While the Renuka Ray Committee has not accorded priority to housing, the Elwin Committee feels that the problem of housing in tribal areas is one of education of improved housing more than of construction.

4. The Renuka Ray Committee suggests giving a scientific base to the practice of shifting cultivation. The Elwin Committee gives it a

factual approach with no idea of sentimentalization nor a desire for perpetuation.

5. While realising the importance of the academic aspects of Anthropology and Sociology, the Elwin Committee urges that the Tribal Research Institutes should concentrate on practical and immediate problems. It stresses on the field and action orientation of tribal research. It also pleads for continued dialogue on the many suggestions, either ignored or accepted partially, by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, by the Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare, by the Renuka Ray Committee and the Inaccessible Areas Committee.

6. The Elwin Committee suggests the change in nomenclature from S.M.P.T. Development Blocks to T.D. Blocks.

In spite of the shortcomings, the Committee recommends the continuity of the Blocks.

Action initiated

As will be seen later in the report, there are at present 504 Blocks in the country for the tribal areas. The suggestion that Blocks should be located in underdeveloped areas has been accepted increasingly and economic need has also been the main criteria in the future location of Blocks. The Dhebar Commission has accepted the suggestion that the new nomenclature of the Blocks should be T.D. Blocks (Tribal Development Blocks)

4. The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (1960-61).

The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (1960-1961) was constituted by the Home Ministry* to investigate into matters relating to tribal administration and welfare under clause (1) of Article to deal with broad principles, policies and details. As empowered by the Constitution under Article 339, the composition, powers and procedure of the Commission are defined by the President. In this study, this Statutory Commission is referred to as the Dhebhhar Commission after its chairman. Its eleven member team, consisting of tribal leaders, social scientists, voluntary workers, educationists and politicians is truly representative in character.

Terms of Reference

The main tasks assigned to the Dhebhhar Commission, as revealed in the contents of the letter to the President** were two : (1) Investigating and (2) Reporting on the problems of the Scheduled Tribes of India.

More specifically, the terms relate to the following :

- (a) The administration of the Scheduled Areas under the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution, and in particular as to
 - (1) The functioning of the Tribes Advisory Councils,

* Ministry of Home Affairs Notification No. 11/6159 -S.C.S. IV
dated April 28, 1960

** dated October, 1961

(ii) The laws applicable to the Scheduled Areas and the ~~exercise~~ exercise by the Governors concerned of powers under paragraph 5 of the Fifth Schedule, and

(iii) The principles to be followed in declaring any territory to be or to form part of a Scheduled Area, or directing that any territory shall cease to form part of a Scheduled Area.

- (b) The welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States and in particular whether the development plans relating to the welfare of Scheduled Tribes require any alteration in respect of objectives, priorities or details of working, and
- (c) Any other matter connected with the administration of Scheduled Areas or the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States which may hereafter be specifically referred to the Commission for investigation and report.

The period of review was to be 10 years.

The Commission may :

- (a) obtain such information as they may consider necessary from the Central Government, the State Government and such other authorities, organisations or individuals as may be in their opinion, of assistance in their work;
- (b) appoint such and so many sub-committees from amongst their members as the Commission may think fit for the purpose of exercising such powers and performing such duties as may be delegated to them by the Commission;
- (c) visit or depute any sub-committee to visit such part of India as a Commission may consider necessary or expedient;

- (d) hold their sittings, those of any sub-committee at such times and places as may be determined by or under the authority of the Chairman;
- (e) act not withstanding the temporary absence of any member of the Commission or the assistance of any vacancy among the members; and
- (f) regulate their own procedure in so far as no provision is made in the order in that behalf.

Date of submission

The original date of the report of the Commission, 31st December 1960 was later extended and the report was submitted in October 14, 1961. The Commission was also required to enquire into the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in the Union Territories and in Assam.*

On May 25, 1960, the Commission decided at its first meeting that its work should be done by 3 sub-committees consisting of 7 members each.

The first sub-committee was to study the working of the provisions of the Fifth Schedule and administration and development of the Scheduled Areas.

The second sub-committee was to study the welfare programmes for Scheduled Tribes in all the states including the Union Territories.

The third sub-committee was to study the institutional frame-

* vide Home Ministries D.O. letter dated October 7, 1960 to the Chairman.

work of the agencies engaged in a welfare work including the question of training and emoluments personnel comprising the machinery or the institutions.

Mode of functioning

At the 64 meetings held at regular intervals upto October 14, 1961 when the Report was signed, the reports of the sub-committees based on discussions during initial stages were discussed, work was at progress and the evidence of important officials and non-officials was recorded.

The Commission visited 18 states and Union Territories and on the final day held discussions with State Government officials, non-officials and politicians regarding problems of the Scheduled Tribes. In July 1960, a general opinion questionnaire was issued and was circulated to all M.Ps, and Scheduled Tribes' members of State legislature, important non-official organisations and institutions and individuals engaged in activities concerned with tribal welfare.

Presentation of the Report

In this report, the focus is on the schemes drawn up and implemented both by the State and Union Governments in regard to welfare of Scheduled Tribes, achievements during the decade and priorities for development of Scheduled Areas.

The Report is present in four parts thus :

Part I : It describes the tribals, their socio-economic conditions the administration of the Scheduled Areas, the use of regulatory powers by the Governors, functioning of the Tribes Advisory Councils and other observations. The principles of grants - in - aid given to the States under Article 275 of the Constitution and the manner and method of utilisation of these grants are also discussed.

Part II : This part gives an assessment by the Commission of the schemes undertaken for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in the First and Second Plans. This part also contains the approach to tribal problems in regard to land, forests, agriculture, indebtedness, education, achievements of the Community Development Programme in the Scheduled Areas and the impact of industrialisation on tribal life.

Part III : It reviews the existing machinery of the Union Government for the administration of the programme for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes including the office of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the administrative machinery at the State and District levels. Necessary modifications have been suggested. The importance and need of evaluation and training programmes to speed up the pace of development, the role of non-official (voluntary) agencies working for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes, the need for applied research in regard to policies and programmes drawn up for tribal welfare and representation of tribals in services.

Part IV : It contains specific recommendations in respect of each State and Union Territories. Interim proposals submitted to States to advise on the formulation of the Third Plan have also been incorporated and the supplement to any notes include additional recommendations and suggestions in respect of the states.

The Commission states that the Report is lengthier than originally intended.

Perspective

The Dhebhhar Commission states that the tribal problem is one of exploitation of isolated, neglected and under-privileged groups to a degree that has resulted in poor economic conditions and as such requiring special developmental and welfare efforts.

The signs of positive policy of reconstruction and development for tribals was evident as early as 1937, but this was in a way piecemeal and supported those who agreed with the British Policy. But, the adoption of a planned two-sided policy for tribal welfare, both preventive and positive, one necessitating constraints and the other to develop 'constraints' and direct its progress can be traced to the post-Independent era i.e. 1949. This becomes the node from which tribal policy of India took on a national texture of an integrated character.

Part I : Examination of problems

Among the problems examined and requiring attention are the following :

1. Removal of certain anomalies regarding various categories of tribes requiring attention as in the case of the Yenadis, Yerukulas and Sugalis recognised purely as Scheduled Tribes by the Andhra State and not by old Hyderabad State and also the Goddis-the Hill Tribes of Himachal Pradesh.
2. Exclusion because of the territorial test that the tribes remain outside particular areas - the 'left-out' tribes for instance, in Madhya Pradesh and Nagpur.
3. Nomadic and denotified tribes deserving special examination despite their exclusion from the list of Scheduled Tribes.
4. The immigrant labour ^{that} also needs assistance to maintain contacts with home and especially with its way of life.
5. Certain tribes of Uttar Pradesh, the Jaunsaris (Jaunsar Bawars) of Dehra Dun and Mirzapur excluded from the list of Scheduled Tribes and as such have been deprived of the benefits of the Fifth Schedule.

The Dhebbhar Commission mentions 4 layers ^{or} of categories of tribals noticeable within a decade of the concept of planned tribal development:

- a. Tribals requiring no further help
- b. Tribals practising settled agriculture
- c. Tribals practising 'jhuming' cultivation
- d. Tribals in an underdeveloped stage. ⁴

Problem of Tribes

While mentioning about the various characteristics such as dialects, colour of the skin or customs used in classification of tribes,

and the reference by the International Labour Organisation to these groups as 'indigenous', the Dhebbhar Commission stated that the significance of his own society to the tribals himself is important. It further states that since even during British regime, the awakening of the tribals and a desire^r for advancement was noticeable, the problem now is one of responding to the desire to progress in consistency with the tribal notion of culture and civilised existence. The approach is not to ~~carve~~^c a destiny exclusive to tribal groups but of broadening the tribal vision or widening the horizon.

Tribal philosophy and the problem

The Dhebbhar Commission then views tribal philosophy (weltanschauung or ethos) and the problem as correlates. In most tribal groups life is group centered and the tribal philosophy abhors greed for material possessions. In the tribals yearning for a better standard of living, the approach is normal and rational. Further, tribal culture has its own distinction, hence the crux of the problem is to identify changeable aspects, and locate what can act as an incentive for their development - 'accelerants' as opposed to constraints.

Further, since tribals are open and frank, they act as long as conviction lasts, there is no obstinate or ~~st~~ rigid tenacity to beliefs. Hence the programmes relate to a tough, hardy and simple, trusting community that has displayed heroism and endurance during the days of the

British.

The Elwin Committee has mentioned about collective articulation among the Tana Bhagats were among the first non-violent Satyagrahis who rose against British power. And the tribals of spiti marched in snow to show thier loyalty to India on Independence Day gatherinings.

Another aspect to the tribal problem is that of the non-tribal inadequacy in understanding the tribal mind. Polyandry may be criticised without scarce realisation that behind every irrational custom, there is an economic reason. And yet, there is no prejudice against womanhood. Among most tribals, woman is free in matters of divorce, or freedom of movement and occupation. She holds an important position but did not enjoy any political influence, nor is she active in public life.

Mention is also made of the problem of shifting cultivation which the Dhebar Commission decries as a wasteful method related to the terrain and not tribal cussedness. The inclines of the mountain leave people no choice and this is one way of retaining land. The need is stressed for an increasing mutual dialogue, or rapport between the tribals and the rest of the nation when both are at the threshold of a new era. The tribal expectation is for changes that would cause minimal disruption to harmony of their life and contact should not suppress their distinctiveness. In this study, shifting cultivation is also dealt with under tribal economy.

Approach to integration and development

In spelling out the approach to integration and development, The Dhebhar Commission states that its most difficult aspect is emotional integration and of developmental activity is its psychological aspect. Despite the lack of clarity in its incipient stage about the basic approach and constraints such as physical and psychic distances and inadequacy of resources, the Dhebhar Commission states that an impact has been made upon the tribal mind. Progress coexists with impediments and strains.

The approach also related to two developmental aspects, protective and developmental, preventive and curative, restrictive and progressive in nature. The former relates to protection against exploitation - the protection of tribal rights over land and forests and the right to be protected against moneylenders. The developmental aspect relates to positive welfare schemes. In these two fields of restriction and progress i.e. expansion, much remains to be done before there are distortions. While acknowledging the impact of developmental programmes, the State Governments are expected to play emphasis on the translation.

The Dhebhar Commission points out that the deficiencies in the Non-Scheduled Areas in matters of protection are quite glaring. In development, the plains tribals have lagged behind in development as compared to hill tribals.

Constraints

Lack of a proper adequate and suitable institutional framework to which repeated attention of the Union Government was drawn in the reports of the Estimates Committee and the Elwin Committee and the successive Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and ^{has been mentioned} Scheduled Tribes. A properly equipped personnel having a suitable approach is a sine qua non relating to a matter of integration and development of lakhs of people.

Scheduled Tribes

The largest concentration of tribal people anywhere in the world except perhaps Africa is in India. The Scheduled Areas extending over 1,00,000 square miles do not accommodate all the Scheduled Tribes in India. ~~The Scheduled Areas extending over 1,00,000 square miles do not accommodate all the Scheduled Tribes in India.~~ This number approximates $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent i.e. near ²¹⁶⁷⁴²⁶⁵⁰ million of the Indian population. Mention is also made of non-tribals in Scheduled Areas. The Dhebar Commission divides the tribals of India into three main groups - (1) South-western India (2) Central Belt and (3) North and North-easter valleys, sub-montane and montane ⁿ zones. The variety of tribal ethos, varying religions, customs, laws and culture and the varying levels of acculturation have made the tribal problem both fascinating and challenging and ^r rigidity of any developmental model on application of rules is ruled out.

In sum, the special treatment for tribes is necessitated because of long neglect and isolation resulting in a considerable leeway in the search of progress.

Policy for tribals

The Dhebhhar Commission refers to the earlier British Policy consequent to the missionaries entering the inaccessible tribal areas, as one of isolation, drift and maintenance of status quo. The resultant separation of the tribal areas from the purview of normal administration led to tribal suffering on two counts : 1. Contribution of administration to the difficulties of tribal people by its policy of isolation, and 2. Aggravation of the problem by neglect of the plains people. The Dhebhhar Commission quotes Hutton's findings that the British rule in India resulted in deterioration of tribal economy, ignorance and neglect of rights and customs. Many incidental changes viz. opening of communications, protection of forests and establishment of schools and opening to Christian Mission^s caused acute discomfort led to apathy, indifference, moral deterioration and even a decline in fertility (MDD) and morality. Besides, the tribals were cut off from the main current of India's economic and social life.

The Dhebhhar Commission states that the tribes needed a policy of planned contact on the basis of a positive policy of economic progress.

The collective tribal articulations from 1789 onwards in Chota Nagpur the Rampa Rebellion, the Bastar rising of 1911 and the rebellion on Bonds and Kotanis in 1941 in Adilabad District were mainly due to tribal alienation of land and forests. To the Santhals, land provided a spiritual link^k with ancestors. Thus, the Dhebbhar Commission concurs with the view that land is the tribal's spiritual and economic heritage, a view expressed by the Elwin Committee.

Tribal Economy

Agriculture : The Dhebbhar Commission attributes the low yield in agriculture in tribal areas to continuous encroachment of small-landings upon all sides, poor quality of the soil, and raising crops only for domestic and local consumption by primitive methods. The inefficient food supply had to be supplemented by locally available fruits, roots, wild vegetables, berries, honey and small game. The Commission reports the wide practice of shifting cultivation in Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and parts of Madhya Pradesh. Some tribes as the Todas of the Nilgiris and the Gujjars and Gaddis in Himachal Pradesh practised pastoralism.

Crafts : Many tribals as the Nagas, Mishmis, Mayas and others are known for their skills in handlooms and handicrafts. A few, as the Agarias and Khasi were known as ironsmelters. Yet other tribal groups made bamboo articles, manufactured utensils, cane-work, musical instruments, cloth of cotton or bark-fibre and dyed them with various vegetable dyes.

Handloom fabrics of tribals of Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura have been acclaimed as of very high quality. Cotton blankets and other articles for domestic consumption were woven on the loom in every village home. The Baijas, Gond (M.P.), Murias (Bastar), Santals, Garos and Nagas practised wood-carving as an art. In the British rule, the tribal cottage, village industries and arts and crafts suffered because of 2 reasons (1) Want of requisite centres, and (2) Creation of an atmosphere, rating the arts as inferior. Dearth of raw materials still remains a major obstacle to its development.

Industries and Labour

In the Central Belt of Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Bengal, the coal, iron and manganese mines and ancillary industries provided large-scale employment to tribals. A tribal-urban continuum was established following the advent of industrialization, as the plantations in Assam, Kerala and Tamil Nadu required labour. The slight improvement in their economic condition due to employment in industries was wiped off due to addiction and extravagance. It resulted in a rigid process of detribalisation. In tribal areas, monetised economy is a recent phenomenon. Markets also were rare institutions. Barter was the mode by which goods were exchanged at weekly markets or seasonal fairs. Money-lending kept in and assumed formidable proportions. Gradually, tribals were alienated from land as in Dahamu and Umbergaon

(Bombay State). Similar was the condition in varying degrees in other tribal areas. The genesis of slavery, bonded labour, known as Sagri, Gothi, Mali and Yethi, mostly in Central and Southern zones can be traced to the system of money-lending.

Health Problems

Tribal diseases are mostly malaria, yaws, scabies, leprosy, tuberculosis and venereal diseases. Spread of tuberculosis and venereal diseases is attributed largely to outsiders. Water-borne and ^{intestinal} instinal diseases were caused by lack of supply of drinking water. Remedies were sought in herbs, traditional medicine-men and priests. In pre-Independence days, there was no organised endeavour to provide medical service in tribal areas.

Liquor

Untold damage was done by addiction to drink to Bhils, other aboriginal and hill tribals. Women and children joined in the drinking for Births, marriages, deaths, panchayat meetings, the presence of guests and festivals. The British made the sale of liquor a monopoly and a source of revenue to the State. The effect on the tribal was adverse.

Literacy

The Dhebhar Commission states that the percentage of tribal literacy was only 0.7 per cent. The commendable and early work of in

schools of Christians and non-Christian missions appears to be a drop the ocean.

Communications

Development of communications in tribal areas was prevented by the deliberate British policy of isolation. Few roads were constructed mainly for security and forest-trade purposes.

Law

The Commission states that according to S.C. Ray, the British system of law and administration of justice in tribal areas impaired the earlier tribal social solidarity. There was erosion of the authority of the tribal councils or panchayats and the social heads. Till the recent validation by Government orders of tribal customary law regarding succession and inheritance, courts disregarded female inheritance. The applying of the succession Act to them, inconsistent with the fundamental tribal social structure and ideas of kinship, was an anomaly. Promulgation of Government rules against ancestral land alienation, disregarded ancient tribal custom.

Political rights

The Dhebbhar Commission states that the tribals had inadequate representation in legislatures and in local bodies. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Provincial Legislative Assemblies had

24 tribal representatives against a total of 1535 members. The Central Assembly had no provision for a seat for the tribals. Apparent differences were contained, among members, in the report submitted in two stages of the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas (other than Assam) Sub-Committee of 1941 chaired by Thakkar. An important recommendation of the Constituent Assembly was that the new democratic State had a responsibility for the welfare and development of the tribals.

A further observation of the sub-committee was that no tangible results were yielded both by exclusion and partial exclusion. For, the aboriginal areas are neither nearer the removal of that condition^h nor towards educo-economic betterment. Ineffective representation of partially excluded areas in the legislature and local bodies is anticipated. Statutory safeguards are recommended for protection of land which is the mainstay of aboriginal's economic life, and his customs and institutions which contain elements of value.

The sub-Committee also stressed a novel approach to plains living in the plains outside^d excluded and partially excluded areas and interspersed with the rest of the India^h population. Any scheme confining attention to tribals in above areas would be in-adequate. It was urged that all tribals should be g brought within the contemplated constitutional arrangements. A marked change in the earlier policy was

to focus attention of Government in viewing the tribal problem in totality. The perspective was set at a national level.

In Assam, the backward condition of the four and a half million tribals, living and near-merged with plains people is worse than that of the Scheduled Castes. The Committee states that they cannot be ignored on the ground that only the tribes in the partially excluded areas need attention. The approach of the sub-committee chaired by Thakkar was that plains tribals or those in the partially excluded tracts should be treated as a minority. But the realisation was that protection could not be given to those in the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas.

Constitution and the tribal policy

Reviewing the Constitution and its approach to the tribal policy, the problem of the framers of the Constitution was to devise an appropriate formula to protect tribal economic interests, safeguard their way of life, and ensure their development to enable them to take their legitimate place in the general life of the country. As stated earlier, their object was also to reach the poorest tribals and in inaccessible areas.

Apart from the powers vested in the President, the Constitution has vested powers in the Governor with authority to modify State and Central laws and make Regulations for their peace and good Government.

The Governor has to submit periodical reports to the President. Setting up of a Tribes Advisory Council in all States having Scheduled Areas is recommended.

Article 339 empowered the Union to draw up and execute schemes specified in the direction to be essential for welfare of Scheduled Tribes in the State. Article 275 dealt with financial provisions. Articles 330, 332 and 334 provided for reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes in the House of People and the State legislatures for a certain period and Article 335 provides for reservation of services with a view to safeguard tribal interests and culture. Articles 15, 16 and 17 made it possible while legislating on any matter to take into consideration special tribal conditions in the matter of enforcing the provisions relating to equality of all citizens. There was provision for a separate Minister to hold the portfolio of Scheduled Tribes in the States of Bihar, Orissa ~~dx~~ and Madhya Pradesh. Thus, the Dhebbhar Commission States that the basic framework of the Constitution cannot be considered adequate. Among the safeguards provided only for ten years are the reserved quote i.e. representations of tribals in the ~~Wiss~~ Union and State legislatures and the creation of the Post of Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Constitution also arranged for the provision of resources and provided the required institutional apparatus with adequate safeguards for smooth integration

of the neglected tribals into the vast Indian family. The Dhebbhar Commission states that the deficiency is in the performance itself.

For the Scheduled Areas, the President has issued two orders - the Scheduled Areas (Part A States) Order 1950, and the Scheduled Areas (Part B States) Order 1950, declaring certain tribal areas as Scheduled in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan.

Administration of Scheduled Areas

Schedule V of the Constitution envisaged a special type of administration for under-developed areas with a preponderance of Scheduled Tribes. At first administration in tribal areas was based on special laws prescribing simple and classic forms of judicial and administrative procedure viz. the Ganjam and Vizagapatnam Act of 1939. Later, all areas were declared as 'Scheduled District' and their administration was conducted in accordance with the Scheduled Districts Act, 1974. By a simple executive order, more powers were vested in the executive. These powers were inclusive of appointment of officers to administer civil and criminal justice, collection of public revenues, and all matters relating to rent and otherwise to conduct the administration within the Scheduled Districts, of laws in force in any part of British India with special necessary restrictions or modifications. The Government of India Act, 1919 applied to these areas

also. While removed from the purview of legislatures, the differential extent and degree of limits of exclusion gave rise to two categories 'Wholly Excluded Areas' and 'Areas of Modified Exclusion' which had no uniformity of treatment.

The Simon Commission (The Indian Statutory Commission) suggested that on financial and constitutional grounds, the Centre should be responsible to the isolated tribal tracts for 3 reasons :

(1) The political backwardness of areas requiring security of land tenure, protection from economic subjugation by their neighbours, freedom in pursuit of traditional modes of livelihood, and a reasonable exercise of their ancestral customs (2) The duty of the administration to educate these people to manage their own affairs and not leave to efforts of missionary societies or individual officials (3) Principal requirement of coordination of activity and adequate funds. Provincial Governments could not spare funds required for their revenue.

The Central Government's conclusions subsequent to these recommendations were that (1) A large area should not be kept outside the scope of the legislature. (2) Some areas would be retained under the role of administrative control of the Governor and others in would require only general power over application of central and financial enactments, and (3) maintenance of link between these without interposing central responsibility for their administration. While Scheduled

Areas are administered as part of the States, the Governor is given powers to modify Central and State laws in their peace and good government and in particular, for the protection of tribal rights in land, the allotment of waste land and their protection from money-lenders. The Tribal Advisory Council (T.A.C.) is to be consulted for these regulations. The Governor is also to furnish to the President on Annual Report regarding the administration of the Scheduled Areas in his State. The scheme of administration of Scheduled Areas under the Fifth Schedule visualises a division of responsibility between the State and Union Governments.

Objectives in formation of Scheduled Areas

The two objectives in formation of Scheduled Areas are to assist the tribals in enjoying their existing rights through su many processes and develop the Scheduled Areas to promote progress of the Scheduled Tribes. These, in turn have their preventive and promotive levels, the object is to reach the optimal level of development.

The Dheebhar Commission states that the last decade has given detailed thought to tribal physical needs. Schemes of education, health and C.D. have brought change in tribal areas. Education of children is now regarded as a normal obligation. The Commission also states that scheme that augurs well for the tribals and constitutes

'the most significant development' is the scheme of T.D. Blocks, the earlier nomenclature being special Multi-purpose Blocks. The Renuka Ray and Elwin Committees recommended continuation of the scheme with modifications to correct the shortcomings inherent in pioneer ventures. The Dhebbhar Commission concurs in both these recommendations and the extension of these Blocks is recommended into Plan.

Role of the administration and approach :

A certain vagueness pervades the approach, priorities and method of implementation in development activities about the gubernatorial law-making powers, resulting in loopholes in implementation. The Dhebbhar Commission states that these have not yielded the results anticipated in relation to qualitative and quantitative aspects. It further points out that the insufficient ^{or} definition of the Governor's functions has necessitated further directions to supplement the Constitutional provisions.

Recommendations

The Commission's advice is that full provisions of paragraph 5 of the Fifth Schedule may be utilised within a given period. It also recommends the separate districtwise maintenance of figures of expenditure to maintain the pace and direction of progress which are obtained at

present only if the Scheduled Area is a district. Thus, the responsibility for the Scheduled Areas administration extends to provision of funds for development and also giving a policy. The Commission states that State Governments require both guidance and directions which was not necessary so far.

Provision of the Fifth Schedule

The Commission pronounces upon the adequacy of the provisions of the Vth Schedule to fulfil the objects of the Constitution and the relative advantages accruing to the tribals. Even the tribals outside the area have demanded an extension of the Schedule. The Commission observes that Government's work is not of a superfluous character. The impression that Government has been negligent or indifferent is wrong.

Psychological impact on tribals

The psychological impact on tribals in Scheduled Areas is attributed to two factors : (i) Influence of educated pioneers who went to tribal areas and rendered service without exploitation, and (ii) the opening up of areas that made visits to non-tribal centres possible for tribals influenced by the life and activities of people there. Two activities instrumental in accelerating progress were popular. These were the Elections and the Community Development - both offshoots of the Indian Constitution and the planned approach. The securing of original objectives is recommended by the Dhebar Commission by making changes in the Constitution in an appropriate manner.

Recommendations :

One recommendation is for the conditional or total dispensing with the scheme of Special Administration.

Governor's Reports

The Union Government has issued no instructions about the form and content of the Governor's annual Report to the President regarding the Scheduled Areas. Hence, they are a routine chore like departmental reports. The Dhebhhar Commission suggests presenting a coordinated picture to the President.

Recommendations

The Commission recommends that the contents can include progress of work and the difficulties, debates in Legislatures on the voting of grants and voicing the non-official point of view, discussions in the Tribes Advisory Councils, and remarks of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and representatives from non-official organisations. A further suggestion is that since a departmental view may be presented by the Tribal Welfare Directorate, the Secretariat itself may critically examine the data received from the director and the staff in the field. The Commission also suggests that the Tribes Advisory Council be invited to make suggestions about the report so that its objectivity may not be marred. The Dhebhhar Commission reiterates that for the sufficient realisation and consequent fulfilment of the Constitutional

responsibility for scrutinising legislation vested in the Governor, important legislative measures vitally affecting the Scheduled Tribes on the socio-economic fields should be scrutinised immediately either by the legal department of the State or a specifically created section specially in matters relating to land its tenure, allocation, transfers, acquisition, management and panchayats and on money-lending. These are imperative owing to the phenomenal social and economic changes of the past decade.

Legislation

Laws relating to land : The Dhebbhar Commission states that the claim of the states regarding adequacy of laws in force in the Scheduled Areas, to protect rights of the Scheduled Tribes both before or after the States is not wholly justified. It refers to regulations in States such as Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Orissa, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Punjab. Instances are cited of the inadequacy of laws relating to land by way of protection of tribal interest, that of the Scheduled Areas Estate (Reduction of Rent Amendment) Regulation of 1951, giving protection against rack-renting, the Protection of Interests of Trees Regulation and the Protection of Transfer of Land Regulation in the Vidarbha region, and in Bihar. Most laws were passed before there was a planned national and integrated approach to tribal development.

Laws relating to money-lending

Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra have

passed legislation to control money-lending. The Bombay State Money-Lending Act extending to Gujarat and Maharashtra is of a general character. Money lenders have an obligation to secure licences and observe certain condition. Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh have no special laws to protect tribal monetary interest. In Madhya Pradesh, rules too are of a general character as in Bombay. In Bihar there is no machinery to implement these regulations. This condition calls for a more consistent policy in relation to these laws.

Recommendations

1. Creation without delay of a State level section in the Legal Department ~~to~~ to undertake a study of Central and State laws relating to tribal rights relating to land and money, and protection of tribals in regard to these matters.
2. Undertaking of State-wise surveys to ascertain the extent of tribal suffering and requirements of restoration or retrospective legislative assistance.
3. Taking up by the Union Government with the State Governments the necessity of a definite and consistent policy of protection in relation to subjects mentioned in Schedule V.

Tribes Advisory Councils

Before promulgation of the Indian Constitution, the Advisory Committees played a minor role assisting in the administration of tribal areas when they were attached to the then provincial governments. But,

the provisions of the Fifth Schedule, Part B, paragraph 4, regarding the setting up of Tribal Advisory Councils has changed the entire situation. Observing the above, the Dhebhur Commission anticipates an important future role for the bodies.

Composition Recommendations

These councils were to consist of not more than 20 members of which $\frac{2}{3}$ th were to be Scheduled Tribes representatives in the Legislative Assemblies. When these bodies are chaired by the Chief Ministers as in Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, tribal representatives have added confidence. The Dhebhur Commission recommends that Chairman of a T.A.C. should be influential, and that the Chief Secretary (C.S.) should be ~~influential~~ a member of the co-ordinating medium of the entire administration to guide and control other departmental heads or Secretaries.

Since the council is meant to provide a forum for discussion and a source of encouragement to tribals, the Dhebhur Commission suggests that it should represent all shades of opinion, and maintain a proper balance between semi-literate and literates.

Subjects for discussion

The Governors have no briefing regarding the purpose of these councils, the difficulty arising partly as the working of para 4(2) of the Schedule which states that the T.A.C. could advise on matters referred to by the Governor. State Governments also placed restricted

and literary meanings on functions of Tribal Advisory Councils.

The Committee observes that having a few states, the Punjab for instance, the picture of Tribal Advisory Councils is not satisfactory. Since the formation of the council in Punjab in 1952, it has been consulted on issues relating to money-lending and the grant of Nawar (Government of Waste Land.). But, inspite of its re-constitution in 1958, no life has come into the council. Records of the meeting are heartening and the Chief Minister and Chief Secretary both make it a point to attend the meeting which are held once a year in tribal areas. In the former Bombay State, the Tribal Advisory Council was not consulted before passing of legislations relating to land and money lending affecting tribal interest.

Recommendations

Introducing a new pattern of administration, the Dhebbhar Commission suggest that all questions relating to administration, laws and rules relating to Scheduled Tribes for which the Schedule was enacted be referred to the T.A.Cs. The plea is for simple rules and procedures for a simple society.

The Estimates Committee (Second Lok Sabha) on the Ministry of Home Affairs suggested parity of the T.A.Cs with statutory Boards like the Khadi Commission to make them more effective. The Renuka Ray and Elwin Committees had earlier commented over the indifferent treatment

meted out to the T.A.Gs. The Dhebhhar Commission feels that the opportunity to discuss the Draft Third Five Year Plan will generate more interest in tribals.

The Commission suggests a change in rules of States to include a number of officials where national representation is only for non-official agencies. It also suggests amendment of rules of Business for a proper definition of the functions of the Councils. Other suggestions are for periodical review by members of Tribes Advisory Council of that developmental activity done in important projects, and also for ^ofarming of Tribes Advisory Councils in all States and Union Territories to advise on protection and development of Scheduled Tribes.

Criterion for declaration of a territory to be or to form, or to cease, or cease to form part of a Scheduled Area

The Commission mentions the three ^afactors considered by the Constituent Sub-Committee regarding excluded and other areas, a ~~next~~ step subsequent to the formation on grounds of strict political necessity of Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas under the Government of India Act, 1935. It also consulted the State Governments and Union Territories to consider whether all or which factors should be invariably present for declaring an area a Scheduled Area:

1. Strict necessity
2. Preponderance of tribal population
3. Reasonableness of the size.

4. Susceptibility of the area to special administrative treatment.
5. Compactness
6. Inaccessibility
7. Exclusiveness and distinctive tribal way of life.
8. Marked economic disparity in relation to people in surrounding areas.
9. Educational disparity.
10. Relative development of the area vis-a-vis the rest of the State.

In the answers received from States, emphasis was on varied factorial priorities. No definiteness was revealed about the percentage of tribal concentration in an administrative unit or its size as an acceptable criterion for declaration of a Scheduled area.

Recommendations

The Dhebbhar Commission then suggests the following criterion for ensuring protection to the Scheduled Tribes and raising the level of administration in Tribal Areas, the two objectives of the Fifth Schedule :

1. Preponderance of tribals in the population
2. Compact and reasonable size
3. Under-developed nature of the area, and
4. Marked disparity in economic standards.⁵

A uniform treatment is suggested for Union Territories and States.

The Commission also suggests descheduling of areas that reached a certain level of development. But Bihar and Andhra Pradesh were reluctant

to deschedule the areas. The declaration was expected to result in much agony and trouble not commensurate with resultant advantages.

Criteria for additional Scheduled Areas

The following table shows the suggestion of additional areas for declaration in each State as Scheduled areas :

Table 1

State	Area in Sq. miles	Total population	Tribal population	%age of tribal population to total population
1	2	3	4	5
Gujarat	2,833	9,18,991	5,62,473	61.2
Kerala	1,064	1,76,129	1,12,000	63.5
Madhya Pradesh	14,840	..	13,00,621	..
Maharashtra	10,194	11,57,722	6,78,517	58.6
Orissa	7,100	8,93,053	3,75,395	42.9
Punjab	112	5,514
Rajasthan	9,804	14,58,594	8,63,748	59.0
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1,036	14,691*	N.A.	..
Himachal Pradesh	4,228	87,866	83,866	95.0
Manipur	7,686	2,40,148*	N.A.	..

* 1961 Census figures.

The demand for declaration of additional areas is with the hope that additional allocations would be obtained for their development. The commission justifies the argument that with powers given to State Governments under the Fifth Schedule and the additional funds provided by the Centre, development of tribal areas and progress of Scheduled Tribes would be possible.

In view of the complications, complexity and amount of work involved in such a declaration, the Dhebbhar Commission suggests an Alternative Programme which is a change in the institutional set-up.

Alternative Programme

The alternative approach suggested by the Dhebbhar Commission may be given in two ways :

1. In relation to tribals in Scheduled Areas through the regulatory powers of the Governors, and
2. In relation to all tribals, whether living in Scheduled Areas or non-scheduled Areas under general legislation.

The Commission suggests that all tribal areas be grouped under the I.D.Bs to bring a majority of the tribal population under the intensive development scheme. It hopes the tribals will accept this as a partial substitute for Scheduled Areas and utilise them for speedy development. Its recommendation is that no Scheduled Area has yet reaches descheduling as economic development, education, health,

communications and other services. The Commission concludes its recommendation by saying that in view of changes in India since the Constitution, it is not necessary to pursue the question of descheduling or declaring a tribal area as Scheduled. The objective of the temporary expedient of the Fifth Schedule can be achieved by its alternative approach. A plan could be undertaken by Government to protect the Scheduled Tribes and ensure tribal development within a stated period. The State Governments should undertake general legislation applicable throughout Scheduled Areas and Non-Scheduled Areas for protection of tribals from land and forest alienation and exploitation by money-lenders. This legislation could be implemented for 10 years. Pending enactment of the legislation, the Governor's regulatory powers enshrined in the Constitution may be utilised for promulgation of corresponding regulations for Scheduled Areas. As a simultaneity, the grouping is recommended of all tribal areas under Tribal Development Schemes so that most tribals could be beneficiaries. Specificity of targets is stressed. Its last recommendation is that if Government are unable to accept the programme, there is no alternative to declare additional areas as scheduled areas after the satisfaction of the criterion suggested.

Finances

The Dhobhar Commission now discusses finances for the Tribal Development schemes covered in Article 275 of the Constitution that specifies the States' responsibility. The schemes for tribal welfare having concurrence of the Central Government are chargeable to the Consolidated Fund of India. The Commission also discusses related matters as the scope of Article 275 for factors governing grants-in-aid to States, and the implication of making special provisions. It states that while these special provisions are intended to supplement and not to supplant the general welfare programme directed to the entire community of which the Scheduled Tribes are but a segment.

A pertinent passage quoted from the Second Plan states that maximum benefits of development schemes should reach the weaker sections of the population. In September 1959, the Ministry of Home Affairs reiterated this policy in drafting proposals for the Third Plan. A letter to all the State Government said that schemes of development departments as Education, Health, Industries etc. should formulate their schemes with the above objective. Periodical conference give ample opportunity for the representative of the States and Ministry of Home Affairs to discuss the issues. The Dhebbhar Commission commends to State Governments ~~positive decision of the example of the~~ the example of the positive decision of the Andhra Pradesh to ensure the allocation of a certain portion of the provision in the general plan i.e. 3 per cent

of the provision of each department for ⁵benefitting the Scheduled Tribes.

The following Table gives the total amount of grant-in-aid given to the States under Article 275 since the commencement of development schemes of the Scheduled Areas :

Table 2

Year	State Sector Schemes	Centrally sponsored schemes	Total (Columns 2 & 3)
1	2	3	4
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1950-51	54,00,000	..	54,00,000
1951-52	1,59,75,000	..	1,59,75,000
1952-53	1,99,71,000	..	1,99,71,000
1953-54	2,62,73,000	..	2,62,73,000
1954-55	3,76,72,000	..	3,76,72,000
1955-56*	5,13,74,000	..	5,13,74,000
1956-57*	2,22,37,800	1,61,89,000	3,39,26,800
1957-58*	2,61,01,600	2,02,85,000	4,63,86,600
1958-59*	2,54,92,000	2,88,67,000	5,43,86,000
1959-60*	3,64,70,100	4,56,24,000	8,20,94,100
1960-61**	3,53,67,300	8,47,63,000	12,01,30,300
Grand Total (1950-61)	30,23,33,800	19,12,28,000	49,35,61,800

* Grant-in-aid actually utilised by the State Government.

** Grant-in-aid released to the State Governments.

Tempo

The gradual rise in tempo during the first three years of the First Plan became steep in the fourth and fifth years. As both the State and Union Governments were anxious to utilise the maximum amount of money available, considerable tempo was achieved in the progress of trial welfare.

In 1956-1957 the decrease in tempo evinced in the drop in utilisation of the amount of grants-in-aid by 174 lakhs in the previous year can be attributed to the reorganisation of the states and the popular elections that diverted everyone's attention. The rise in figures in the two subsequent years of the Second Plan testify to the steady pace and because of a larger share of utilisation of the grants-in-aid during the 4th and 5th years of the Plan, the tempo of progress was achieved. Implementation was speedy.

Criterion for determining the size of Grants

During the First and Second Year Plan periods, considerations for determining allocation of funds to the State Governments appear to have been as follows :

1. Population of the Scheduled Tribes in each State and the extent of the Scheduled Areas.
2. Developmental level of the State in welfare activity for the Scheduled Tribes and in raising the level of administration in

the Scheduled Areas at the beginning of each plan period ;
and

3. Willingness on the part of the State Governments to contribute fifty per cent from their local revenue specifically for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes.

But, during the Third Plan, a change in emphasis is evident, for only the population in the States as indicated by the figures was considered.

Recommendations

Making the above observations, the Dhebhhar Commission recommends consideration of three factors viz. population, level of development of each state, and its financial position.

Border-states

The Dhebhhar Commission states that besides the above three factors, the border states in the north and north-eastern regions also suffered a serious economic and trade dislocation. The State Governments' broad acceptance of the pattern laid down by the Planning Commission cannot be followed by them owing to their weak internal financial resources being a hindrance to their ^{falling} ~~following~~ in line with the national policy.

Shortfall in the expenditure

The main reason for the shortfall of 7.3 crores in expenditure of the First Plan is the disinclination of the States to earmark sufficient funds for tribal welfare.

Views of the State Governments

The Dhebbhar Commission states varied views of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Punjab in reply to their questionnaire regarding allotment of finances for schemes sponsored by the Center and the State. Andhra Pradesh, for instance, suggests the fixing of 75 percent of the expenditure as assistance by the Union Government and treating all schemes as centrally sponsored. Assam suggests that as the tendency is to reduce the annual plan outlay, full utilisation of grants of the Union Government can not be achieved. Hence the suggestion is that Article 275 development programme may be taken from the States' annual plan to determine the central share of contribution to finance it. The case of Maharashtra and Gujarat is similar and they suggest that the Plan Provision for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes during the Third Plan works out at Rs.4/- per head per year. In Madhya Pradesh, in the First Plan the Central aid received is on 100 per cent basis and under the Second Plan it is fifty per cent. In order of priorities, welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and the development of Scheduled Areas ranks rather low. Hence States' suggestions is

that welfare schemes for Scheduled Tribes for which the Union Government makes grants-in-aid under Article 275(1), should be classified as 'Centrally-sponsored' outside the Five Year Plan so that they are eligible for 100 per cent grant-in-aid and the annual plan ceilings are not imposed on the States. Orissa pleads for larger grants and greater autonomy for states. Punjab recommends flexibility in following of a liberal population percentage for a steady and rising tempo of development. It also pleads for a greater elasticity regarding diversion of one scheme to another in view of the short working season.

Bihar, Kerala, Madras, Mysore, Rajasthan and West Bengal offered no comments.

Recommendations:

The Dhebhar Commission makes the following recommendations :

1. Incorporation of Article 275 of the country was at a time when the vast developmental activity undertaken in tribal areas was not contemplated. Thus safeguards for the proper expenditure of funds given to the States are insufficient. The Dhebhar Commission states that when the proposed Department is set up at the Centre, there should be an Accounts Cell exclusively for the purpose of maintaining accounts of funds disbursed to State Governments, Union

Territories and non-official organisations.

2. The Second suggestion is that funds for tribal welfare are to be non-lapsable. The alternative suggested are :

1. Devising of a procedure by which the grants sanctioned during a particular year are available for expenditure even in the succeeding year, thus giving the administration twelve months for full implementation of schemes.
 - ii. Creation of a non-lapsable Tribal Welfare Fund on the lines of the Central Road Reserve Fund.
 - iii. A change in the financial year from April-March to July-June is suggested.
3. For facilitating and simplifying regular accounts, and ensuring a proper follow-up of expenditure, there should be a separate entry in the budget.
 4. Further devolution to States of the discretion regarding changing items from one head to another may lead to the shape of the original schemes and disturbance of priorities. These comments do not relate to the Tribal Development Blocks.
 5. A further advice is the procedure evolved in 1957 which is an improvement of the earlier procedure of releasing funds during the financial year after the necessary scrutiny. But, this scrutiny either has to be eliminated or to be made quickly to avoid a distur-

bance in the smooth continuance of schemes taken up. Hence, a suitable procedure should be devised to obviate reference to their finance Departments of cases where increase in the outlay does not exceed a certain margin.

6. The six-monthly despatch of progress reports by State Governments within three months after the lapse of the six-monthly report period, should be made a condition for the grant of funds under Article 275.
7. Grants designed for development are a routine feature of our Plans and there is no justification in keeping them out of the Plan's expenditure.
8. The Union Government or the Reserve Bank should give loans to the State Governments to enable them to give loans to tribal people.
9. Since Article 275 clearly states that grants are also meant for 'raising the level of administration', the recommendation is that all expenditure on employment of additional staff should be met out of the funds given to the states under this Article.
10. The tendency to lower outlay in the State Sector is to be discouraged, as it is the primary responsibility of the states to conduct welfare and ^raise the level of administration. They should be more enthusiastic and liberal in shouldering this responsibility.

11. A sharper distinction between the Central and State sectors is suggested. Schemes of higher priority e.g. economic development health, drinking-water supply, training of personnel, research and evaluation should be included under the Central Sector, whereas schemes for education, housing etc. will come under the State Sector.

Action initiated

1. No separate tribal welfare department exists at the centre but the Ministry of Social Welfare looks after the welfare of backward classes and tribal welfare. The natural corollary is that there is no separate accounts cell.
2. No action has been taken on the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, eighth and tenth recommendations.
3. In the Third Plan specific entries have been made for welfare of Scheduled Tribes
4. On recommendation no.9, the Reserve Bank is not too keen to give loans as they doubt the credit-worthiness of the tribals.
5. On recommendation no. 10, in most States the outlay is lowered. There is shortfall in expenditure.
6. No follow-up has been taken till 1974 on recommendation no.11. The need still remains of a clear distinction between Centrally

and State sponsored schemes.

7. The post for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commissioner still continues, but no separate post for Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes has been created.

Part / II :

Review of provision in Tribal Areas

Reviewing the progress in tribal areas, the Dhebar Commission states that an integrated picture with specific schemes, adequate finance and time limits for their performance at national level is possible only because of a planned approach.

The following three significant impacts on tribal areas have been as follows :

1. Launching of the First Plan on April 7, 1951.
2. Launching of the Community Development Scheme on October 2, 1952.
3. Launching of the Panchayati Raj movement on October 9, 1959.

The tribal areas were affected by this tri-dimensional approach of (1) phased and planned development (2) Involving of the village community through an institutional set-up and (3) Building of a new local leadership through Panchayati Raj. The goal was emancipation through equalisation of opportunity with popular backing. The Commission states that the tribal potential is a challenging task complementary to the role of financial allotment according to the

Dhebhhar Commission.

The amount in crores allotted for Scheduled and Denotified Tribes in the Four Five Year Plans is shown in Table No.4 at page No. 120, although at this stage, the Dhebhhar Commission is concerned only with the First two plans.

Financial efforts of the two plans reveal a significant change in the approach to the schemes. Expenditure on economic development shoots up to 75 per cent and on education and communications rises by 75 and 100 per cent respectively.

The revised state-wise allocation for the centrally sponsored schemes was Rs.1.25 crores. Two factors indicating the unsatisfactory picture are the inadequacy of the additional provision and the inability to supply figures as to what part of the States' general allocation was spent in the tribal areas and on the tribal people.

Schemes

Commenting on the schemes, the Commission feels that there is a pulsating of the tribal areas. A start was made in arrangement for drinking water facilities and also in fundamental work. Tribal Research Institutes were opened in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal and a Tribal Bureau was opened in Orissa. Observing that the

Table 3

		Expenditure in First Plan (Rs. in crores)	Allotment in Second Plan (Rs. in crores)
All Backward Classes	..	30.00	91.00
Scheduled Tribes	..	17.36	48.33 (includes 2 crores for Assam centrally sponsored schemes).
<u>Detailed Priorities</u>			
<u>Economic Uplift</u>	..	2.65 4.32	2.23 16.86
Agriculture	..	2.65	2.23
Cottage Industries	..	0.47	3.38
Cooperative	..	0.50	1.40
Rehabilitation	..	0.05	3.36
Forest	..	0.58	1.06
Community Centres	..	0.07	0.01
Intensive Development Block..	6.42
		<u>4.32</u>	<u>16.86</u>
<u>Education</u>	..	5.10	8.82
Communications	..	4.07	8.79
Medical	..	1.54	5.00
Housing	..	0.49	2.26
Veterinary	..	0.12	0.48
Administration	..	0.54	2.03
Aid to Voluntary Agencies	..	0.19	0.45
Publicity	..	0.07	0.07
Miscellaneous	..	0.92	1.57
Total		<u>17.36</u>	<u>46.33</u>

(Excluding 2 crores for Assam Central sponsored schemes)

tempo of development is picking up, the Commission states that the beginning made may justifiably be regarded as good.

Physical Targets

On the basis of comparative quantum of financial allocation of States made in the Second Plan, and a study of the figures the following 3 observations are made :

1. Part of the States general allocation spent in the tribal areas and on tribal people. *
2. The inadequacy of the additional provision except for Assam and Punjab where additional provision made falls short of the effort needed.
3. Level of expenditure indicates an achievement of targets.

The States can be divided into three groups for the purpose of assessment of the financial effort made :

- i. Punjab, Assam, Kerala, Madras and Mysore.
- ii. Andhra Pradesh.
- iii. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal.

A quick review of the economic development receives the highest priority in terms of the physical targets. In schemes of economic development, a project for establishment of 43 S.M.P.T.Bs or as they are now called T.D.Bs occupied the first place. Rehabilitation of tribals received the second priority. The target was nearly 186 colonies to accomodate more than 12,000 families.

✓ In agriculture, the provision was for the development of 36,000 acres of land, distribution of agricultural implements and pedigree bulls. Of these 1.30 crores were allotted for shifting

* No State has supplied except Andhra Pradesh which sanctioned 3 per cent

cultivation. Provision was also made to train 4,000 persons in various crafts by establishing 825 centres with a view promoting cottage industries.

In the State sectors, a provision was made to spend Rs.1.40 crores on cooperation. The intention was to convert about 350 Grain Golas into full-fledged cooperative^s and establish 800 additional fresh multi-purpose cooperative societies. Regeneration of 6,570 acres of forest lands were provided for.

In education, under the State Sector schemes, the proposal was to open 3,187 schools, 398 hostels and provide scholarships to over 3,00,000 tribal students. Plans contemplated the establishment of 200 community and cultural centres, production of text books in tribal dialects, improvement of curriculum for schools in tribal areas and research work in tribal activities. Technical Institutes were sanctioned for Manipur, Assam, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. In Assam, the money was spent on establishment of training-cum-vocational, industrial and technical centres.

Communications received more than double the amount of the first Plan supplemented by a Central allocation.

Programme for health and housing included 600 dispensaries and mobile health units and the sinking of 15,000 drinking water wells

in tribal areas. Nurses and mid-wives were to be trained and special clinics or mobile dispensaries were set up to combat diseases as Leprosy, Venereal Diseases and Tuberculosis. Socio-economic survey reports in various States shows the deficiencies in the economic field of tribals as follows : income per family indebtedness, poor literacy, poor health services and lack of communication. The Dhebhar Commission reiterates the findings of these reports which correlate the resources available to the State and the absorbing capacity of the tribal beneficiaries and lays stress on the quality of effort.

Drawback:

Diffusion of effort is one drawback in the welfare work in the country. Due to paucity of trained personnel, a universal demand is to concentrate on a few imminent tribal needs as drinking water, food all the year round, employment at least for 300 days in a year on reasonable wages, education, health and village roads.

Recommendation

Since in tribal areas, the confrontation is by a stagnant rather than a feudal economy where means of production are for sustenance and not profit, and result in exploitation, and where

the tribals approach is a community approach, two facts are obvious. This inherent tribal community approach should help in developing his economy for cooperation secondly, the tribal conception of agriculture, forest, animal husbandry and cottage industry requires to be changed. Mobilisation alone of land, forests, cattle, wealth, cottage and village industries on an integrated and planned basis can solve the problem, and the Dhebhhar Commission recommends an institutional set up to implement it.

Findings

The Dhebhhar Commission mentions the quantitative and not qualitative progress in education but states that it has made an impact on the tribal mind. ^Girls' education has lagged behind. The Commission observes that the tribal woman is powerful at home and hence tribals can digest lessons of the new social order only with a responsive partner.

In health, the most outstanding contribution is malaria control and eradication. Medical and public health service in tribal areas is to be built up practically from scratch and the urban and town patterns, unsuitable for rural areas are inadequate for tribal areas.

While observing that in matters of communications, the opening of the areas is essential, the tribal is concerned with the

rodd taking him to forests, bazars, or a school all the year round.

Effects of development on tribals

Development plans have left some scars on the tribal mind loss of land, heavy indebtedness, use of the trade by cash still prevailing in certain areas and the denial of forest rights and privileges. The tribals are yet to appreciate the great work done in education, health and community services.

Revised Second Plan outlay for welfare of Scheduled Tribes

The Dhebbhar Commission then considers certain aspects of planning viz. the revised second Plan outlay for Scheduled Tribes' welfare, the anticipated expenditure during the second Plan and extent of shortfall or excess. Schemes fall under two sectors - Central and State. In State Sector Schemes, the shortfall is brought in Madhya Pradesh 18.9 per cent and the forest in Rajasthan 22 per cent. Health, housing and economic uplift suffered the maximum in most States.

The Commission attributes the shortfall in development activities during the Second Five Year plan to administrative reorganisation, the late revision in 1951 of financial rules and procedures, a chronic^c shortage of technical personnel, and an important reason

viz. T.D. not getting a high priority necessitated by competing claims.

Recommendation

The Dhebhar Commission advises for a separation of tribal from social welfare and giving it special importance and priority.

The Committee stresses the need of a constant watch upon expenditure and achievement, an estimate of the input requirement in tribal areas and coordination between various departments. It recommends the setting up of an agency for the special kind of work and aware of the difficulties of local officers. It also states that people alone can question delegation of authority and function.

Main features of life of Scheduled Tribes and their economic development :

The Dhebhar Commission now describes the main features of the Scheduled Tribes life and discusses their economic development. Among the main features of tribal life the following are discussed : close linkage of tribals to land, the land-hungriness of the tribal, shifting cultivation, poor quality of land, the uneconomic size of holdings, poor techniques of cultivation and indebtedness. Then the Commission speaks of the types of legislation for preservation of tribal rights in land-protective i.e. preventive and positive de ling

with reforms. Giving the reactions of the States, the Commission mentions that in the States and Union Territories, barring Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh, land reforms are complete, they are in implementation and tribal cultivators have direct relation with the State. The Commission observes that except in Madhya Pradesh, land reforms have done more harm than good to tribals.

While most State Governments are satisfied about their tenancy and land reforms legislations, difficulties are at the implementation stage. Tribals could not purchase proprietary interests in lands either because they had no money or they were in the grip of landholders. Benefits have been nominal except in hill districts of Assam, Manipur and NEFA due to :

- i. The lacunae in the laws
- ii. Ignorance of the tribal people, and
- iii. The complicated legal procedures to be followed .

Opponents of tribals won because of legal and technical skill.

The Commission also mentions evasive methods of legislation by money lenders, the conflict between the law-maker and exploitee and rehabilitation.

Recommendations

The Dhebbhar Commission recommends among other things:

1. Immediate preparation of Record of Rights in tribal lands.
2. Examination of all existing acts and regulations affecting tribals' lands by a Committee in each State and Union Territory from the point of view of preventing transfers of tribals' lands.
3. All surrenders of lands hereafter being made only to the State.
4. Making of Government rules, in consultation with the Tribes Advisory Councils governing the grant of permission by the Deputy Commissioner or the Collector after ascertaining the conditions of the area.
5. Launching of a campaign to educate tribals preferably through non-official agencies, regarding laws or regulations made for their benefit and render financial and legal assistance.
6. Scheme of rehabilitation forming part of the project itself and financial provision being made for it as a part of the project expenditure.
7. Consulting of the tribals and their representatives in selecting alternative sites for their rehabilitation.

8. Land allottees being given facilities of irrigation, credit and housing.

9. Giving relief to tribal landless labourers and accepting of the integrated approach.

Tribals and the forest

Making a resume of the policy from 1894 to 1952, the Dhebbhar Commission ~~mention~~ mentions the close tribal-forest ^{link}.

The policy of conversion of forests into agricultural lands that lasted for fifty years and during which certain settlements of land were made for tribals, needed revision. Moreover, the approach, spirit and interpretation of law made trib^{al} as suspicious of forest officials and policies. The tribal policy of 1952 took note of certain factors as (i) an increase in 40 per cent population of the country during 1894 and 1950 resulting in pressure on forests and waste-land to secure more land for agriculture. (ii) a better understanding of importance of forests in mitigating of climate conditions. (iii) a better understanding of the importance of forests in the economic field as the development of agriculture, industry and communications, and (iv) the two world wars being briefly to the surface the hitherto unimagined extent of dependence of national defence as forests.

Of the three ^{aspects} ~~ways~~ of the new policy, ^{mentioned below, the last} differed from the earlier policy: ~~in six ways;~~

- i. Application of same controls to private tribal forests
- ii. Introduction of fees for grazing and its being kept to the minimum,
- iii. An important new concession in the approach was to persuade them from shifting cultivation and not use coercion or authoritarianism.

The State Governments forms were received after circulation of a questionnaire to them. Tribal needs are simple and they produced a headload against licence. There is exploitation by contractors. The tribals feel that all arguments in support of preservation and forest development are intended to refuse their demands. There are no facts to substantiate the consistent propaganda amongst tribals that they were asking for too much. The Commission suggests a coordinated, rational and integrated approach that calls for partnership, not exclusiveness and the complementarity of development of forest and tribal betterment.

Tribal Development Blocks

The Community Development Evaluation Mission in India organised in 1958-1959 by the United Nations Technical Administration characterised the Community Development movement as a major experiment of the twentieth century. The Programme was meant to meet the problems of the rural population - ignorance, illiteracy and poverty.

And, the economic and social simultaneity of the integrated and comprehensive approach, aimed at current welfare and future production. This approach takes change to be a total process involving the total person and entire community. The Dhebhhar Commission mentions this project to develop the neglected village of India, especially as it affects tribal India as one of importance. The objectives of development are to promote the spirit of community life, and self-sufficiency in the primary needs of life. In view of the third objective viz. self-reliance and initiative which is a traditional tribal trait, the acceptance of this movement is considered an extension of their own way of life of the Dhebhhar Commission.

Irrespective of the development level, Tribal Blocks were opened in all areas in the country. But the Tribal Development Blocks were opened in predominantly tribal areas. Relevant details have been mentioned earlier in the Benuka Ray and Elwin Committee Reports. One recommendation is that the additional Tribal Development Blocks in the Third Plan Period should cover not only Scheduled Areas but other tribal areas with 55 per cent tribal concentration of the total population. On the basis, the recommendation of the Working Group in the Ministry of Home Affairs recommended the opening of 480 Blocks during the Third Plan Period.

But the Dhebhar Commission states that the Union Government decided to open only 300 additional Tribal Development Blocks in administratively viable units where the tribal population is at least $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total population. The phasing programme is ~~to~~ 10 per cent per year in the first two years; 20 per cent in the third and 35 per cent in the fifth years of the plan.

As suggested by the S.M.P.F.D. Committee, the Working Group in the Ministry of Home Affairs decided that areas with predominant tribal inhabitation should be covered by T.D.Bs. In the Third Plan, the one criteria taken was that the proposed Block have an area of about 200 square miles, a population of about 25,000 and at least 66.6 per cent tribal concentration. The Dhebhar Commission accepts the soundness of the original proposal of the S.M.P.F.D. Committee. It points out that while the natural concern of the Ministry of Home Affairs was to see that tribals were the main beneficiaries the arbitrary formula of 66.6 per cent would lead to discrimination.

Recommendation

The Dhebhar Commission reiterates that two courses are open to the Government (1) Extension of benefits of Schedule V to other areas and declaration of these as Scheduled Areas or (2) to accept the alternative

plan for protection and development with specific targets, priorities and a definite time-schedule.

Commenting further on the alternative plan, the Commission suggests the grouping together for the purpose of coverage under the Tribal Development Blocks and promoting of an intensive effort to promote economic development, education, health, housing and communications to level them with neighbouring areas within 5 years. Handicaps as the involvement of heavy financial burden, the ^eremaining of present phasing of the programme and the insufficient of available technical personnel have to be overcome if the goal of protection, development and integration of tribes is to be fulfilled. The rethinking in Tribal Development Block is that in area it should be between 150-200 square miles, and the population approximately 25,000. Further than this, the Blocks could be reorganised.

The Dhebhhar Commission also recommended a pre-extension stage in Tribal Development Blocks to acquaint the staff with tribal conditions and culture.

Commenting on the inadequacies of the schematic budget, the mechanical application and the emphasis on fulfilling the required financial and physical targets for instance, the Commission reiterates that specified felt needs of tribals and net works should be given the first place. Priorities such as availability of drinking water

all the year round seasonal employment fuel and fodder for repairing or building houses, building of their lands, minor irrigation, school and medical facilities are overlooked. The project becomes a works ~~or~~ construction programme and decreasingly an extension programme. Excessive spending weakens the tribals' self-reliance and initiative and also explains to a certain extent the fall in the people's contribution in the local works programme. Hence the Commission recommends the substituting of the term 'schematic' budget by another term such as the 'model' or 'illustrative' budget.

The Dhebhhar Commission is against prescribing any percentages as recommended by the Elwin Committee for fear of the same result. Even the proposed percentages, as below, were flexible:-

Schemes for economic development	60 per cent
Communications	25 per cent
Social Services	15 per cent

While accepting the needs for concentration on economic development, education, health and communications, The Dhebhhar Commission lays down no percentages. The Planning Commission has accepted in principle the distribution of allotments under the various heads

as proposed by the Alvin Committee. Four additional recommendations of the Dhebhhar Commission are as follows :

1. The necessity of having a preliminary Socio-economic areal survey before commencement of the Block activities.
2. Indication by the State Government on consultation with the District Development Committee of important priorities meant for guidance of project staff and, people having the option to change the order of priority.
3. Care to be taken to avoid multiplicity of schemes, the emphasis being on a few, urgent and need-based priorities.
4. Emphasis on productive employment and on integrated development programme in the fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and industries.

Expenditure

The Dhebhhar Commission then details the expenditure on the progress of the Rural Development Blocks which started functioning only a year after the sanction came in 1956. Details reveal that against the total amount of Rs. 11.46 crores sanctioned for 43 Blocks, the expenditure, during 1956-60 amounts to Rs.5.423 crores. Upto September, the expenditure was 34.42 per cent, by December 1960, it has gone up to 47 per cent. The rise of 13 per cent in one year and

and three months in a certain improvement on the situation evaluated by the S.M.P.T. Blocks' Committees. The percentage of expenditure shown under some heads is as follows :-

Social Services	38.6 per cent
Staff	25.9 per cent
Economic development	24.6 per cent
Communications	10.9 per cent

People's contribution has been on 17 per cent of Government expenditure as against 44.4 per cent in other Community Development Blocks.

Physical Achievements

The Physical Achievements in T.D.Bs are their analysed by the Dhebhar Commission on the basis of figures of average cumulative achievement per Block for some important item of activity and its comparison with those in an average Community Development Block. Two of its conclusions about Tribal Development Blocks are as follows :

i. Progress in development activities has been slow.

ii. Activities in agriculture are lagging behind.

Citing the work done in the four T.D. Blocks in Gujarat, Khedbrahma, Makhoda and Akrain, the Commission concludes that the programme, being worked out with great earnestness, has great potential.

Problem of tribal indebtedness

Discussing the problem of tribal indebtedness the Dhebhar Commission mentions traditional money lending as the worst form of exploitation and assesses its extent. Neither the powers of the Governor nor legislative and executive measures have checked its ill effects. In 1954, the All India Rural Credit Survey, based on a few surveys of tribal indebtedness and surveying the general indebtedness in the country made certain observations. On the basis of these and its own observations and representations made to the Commission, the enormity of the problem with its psychological social and economic aspects emerged. The tribals' three-fold oppression arises from his disbelief in the law of limitation, not defending himself in a court of law of his distrust of the money-lender's word. It discussed the various categories of money-lenders and features such as the pledging of his person by a mean and debts that descend to generations.

Recommendations

The Dhebhar Commission suggests the building of cooperative institutions and also legislation to solve the problem. The issues discussed in detail in the former.

Approach to cooperatives

A dynamic approach is suggested by the Dhebhar Commission for

agricultural credit by the Ministry of Community Development and it considers amendment of the cooperative law necessary. These impediments to the cooperative movements are :

1. Existence of old debts
2. Want of alternative avenues for credit of social needs and
3. Question of security.

The Dhebhar Commission states that for productive and development purposes, during the first four years of the Second Plan the total expenditure incurred comes to Rs.80.25 lakhs which works to 57 per cent of the total allocation.

Progress of Cooperatives

Based on physical targets achieved during the Second Plan, both in Central and States sectors, the Dhebhar Commission attributes the progress of the cooperative movement in various aspects as forest, labour cooperative societies, Grain Golas, Cooperative Farming Societies and Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation in Gujerat and Maharashtra to non-official agencies. In Gujerat the effort is to link marketing with crediting. The slow progress of the movement in Assam, Bihar and Orissa is attributed to :

- i. Lack of correct appraisal of the problem, its size and complexity of the solution.
- ii. Lack of trained personnel.

- iii. Inadequacy of the programme.
- iv. Inadequacy of credit.
- v. Rigidity of rules and combersomeness of the procedures, and
- vi. Inadequacy of organisation.

The Commission stresses the need for conservation and proper utilisation of resources such as Capital, raw materials, labour or skill and their utilisation to the maximum advantage of everybody. It further states that since cooperation or inter-dependence is part of tribal group a practicable, realistic and sympathetic approach would help the cooperative movement to thrive in tribal areas. The necessary higher consciousness or organised scientific thinking is lacking.

Recommendations

Besides the three recommendations of the Committee on Cooperative Credit viz. a change in the approach, a promoting or sponsoring organization and recommendations on Cooperative Credit, The Dhebbhar Commission further recommends the three steps viz.

- (a) Preceding of formation of cooperative by preliminary educative work
- (b) Serving of every village by a cooperative society with a member from each family
- (c) Tackling by society of all aspects of

economic development as an integrated programme e.g. agriculture, animal husbandry, forest and processing, consumer goods, other villages and handicrafts.

Education

Review The Dhebhhar Commission states that in 1961, the Prime Minister approached the question of tribal education from 3 angles : (1) Intellectual (2) Equipment, and (3) Equality of opportunity. It lays emphasis in education for tribals to integrate them into the national mainstream.

As per the statutory provision, education is primarily a State subject, its aim being to promote integration in all fields. The Central Government's function is the coordination of facilities and determination of standards of higher education, research and scientific education. The Commission states that besides coordination between the Ministry of Home Affairs and Education Ministry, an agency or a Board could study this question and formulate procedures to ensure smooth and efficient functioning. Thus besides administrative problems, the question arises of both fundamental policies and curriculum. The basic objects are developing qualities of cooperation and social discipline. The Dhebhhar Commission stresses that education must be acceptable, interesting and functional.

The Ministry of Education made some points about tribal education as follows. The first two are anticipatory, the third qualitative and structural.

1. Continuity of India for many decades as a rural land with agricultural economy as the principal source of livelihood.
2. Necessity of arresting of continuous vitality and intellectual drain to urban areas - the 'push' factor by providing social amenities and employment to villagers within their surroundings and satisfying their aspirations for progress and development.
3. Expansion beyond the primary level of basic education eminently suited to Indian conditions, into the secondary stage and having collegiate courses. Post-basic schools and rural institutes were thought of.

Financial allocation for education

During the First Plan, the State Governments spent a sum of Rs.5.10 crores on tribal education and nearly 4,50,000 tribal students benefitted. Four thousand schools were established in tribal areas including 1,000 Ashrams and Sevashram schools specially in Bihar, M.P. Orissa and Bombay and Community Centres in Bihar, Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan.

In the Second Plan, Rs.7.23 crores were earmarked for Scheduled Tribes and a part of an additional sum of Rs.11.38 crores was earmarked under the centrally-sponsored programme for the weaker sections. The target was for a benefit of 3,00,000 tribal students.

Difficulties

Among the difficulties mentioned in tribal areas are those of poor economic condition, distance, inconvenient timing, miserable and unclean conditions of school buildings, ^{need of} in bad repair and not having proper surroundings. Dialects are too many, the script is disputed and there will be a time lag in preparation of text-books and training of teachers once a dialect and script are made compulsory. Stagnation, wastage and absenteeism are mentioned as serious problems.

Findings

The dual approach of the basic and traditional system in educating is creating confusion in the tribal mind as it applies both to policy and implementation.

Recommendations

1. Keeping down discrimination at various levels.
2. Emphasis on a craft or technical bias, and adequate provision for necessary equipment for craft training.
3. Encouraging the idea of a residential school.
4. Continuous improvement of equipment and environment in schools.

5. Cultivating of tribal culture by way of flora and fauna, tribal literature as among the Abors, Khasis and in Manipur and songs and dances, to inculcate enthusiasm in tribal children.
6. Appointment of teachers from amongst tribal officials to reduce gulf between teachers and students.
7. Adequate facilities by way of good houses, fixed tenure in school and giving of additional inducement.
8. Creating a separate cadre of teachers in tribal areas for 20 years and winding it up ultimately. Locating training centres in tribal areas.
9. Regularity, punctuality and application facilities and the like. Timely payment of scholarships.
10. No lowering of standards.
11. A special point of emphasis is on special projects and efforts by Government for nomadic tribes and others too undeveloped for benefits of education.

Health

Stressing the good work done in the field of public health in the last decade, the Dhebbhar Commission mentions the inadequacy of health in tribal areas. The good normal health of tribals is prone to becoming chronic in the post-infectious stage.

Diseases prevalling

Owing to inadequate facilities for provisions of drinking water supply, water-borne diseases are prevalent. Among other tribal susceptibilities are intestinal and skin diseases, nutritional deficiency among tribals in foothills, venereal diseases as in parts of Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Andhra Agency traits, Southern Orissa, Chanda (Maharashtra) and Bastar (M.P.), Hanson's disease called leprosy throughout India, in Mikir Hills, Bankura and Purulia, Santal Parganas in Bihar and Mayurbhanj upto Puri in Orissa, Scabies, ring-worm, smallpox and anaemia.

Achievements

In the first Five Year Plan period, a sum of Rs. 154 lakhs was spent on providing medical and public health to Scheduled Tribes and a sum of Rs.500 lakhs allocated in the Second Plan period. In the First Plan there was maintenance and opening of 101 allopathic dispensaries, 23 Ayurvedic dispensaries, 13 health centres, 10 Hanson's Disease Centres, 3 maternity centres, 27 health and four mobile units. In addition, 10 anti-malaria schemes, four anti-yaws campaigns and six anti-venereal disease campaigns were carried out. Grants were given to 266 dispensaries and many medical chests distributed. In the Second Plan, the main targets were the opening and maintenance of 456 dispensaries, establishment and maintenance of 106 medical centres, 71 mobile

dispensaries, 77 health units, 52 maternity centres and 8 Hansen's Disease Centres. The extent of shortfall in the State and Centrally-Sponsored programmes under Medical and Public Health is indicated below :

Table 4

(Rupees in lakhs)			
State/Union Territory	Revised Second Plan Allocation	Anticipated Expenditure	Shortfall(-) Excess (+)
1	2	3	4
Andhra Pradesh	20.69	20.60	- 3.09
Assam	84.74	39.50*	-45.24
Bihar	19.55	17.60*	- 1.95
Gujarat and Maharashtra	31.69	31.69	Nil
Kerala	3.78	1.61	- 2.17
Madhya Pradesh	38.24	22.14	-16.10
Madras	2.84	1.49	- 1.35
Mysore	4.00**	1.57	- 2.43
Orissa	:	54.45	..
Punjab	4.57	6.28	+ 1.71
Rajasthan	10.25	4.19 @	- 6.06
West Bengal	30.99	20.58*	-10.41
Manipur	14.36	12.94	- 1.42
Tripura	4.42	2.22	- 2.20

* Upto 1960

** Excluding provision on drinking water supply

: Information not available

@ Excluding expenditure under Central sector.

The allocations and expenditure in the two Plans reveals that inspite of the State Governments efforts in the health sector, there was shortfall. The 4 principal reasons are (1) the need for a correct approach, (2) the problem of personnel (3) inadequacy of communications and (4) rules about supply of medicine.

Tribal's approach

The tribal's own system of diagnosis and cure are linked with spiritual aspects. Old methods assert faith in the healing and if the patient links the genesis of the disease due to sin or breach of taboo, the priest can remove the fear and restore confidence by appeasing the offended spirit. The Commission advises that doctors can look upon the tribal medicinemen as allies and not rivals. In spiti where medical facilities are still a novelty, the image of the Buddha is brought to create confidence. In Bhil areas of Rajasthan, the tribal preference is for the indigeneous physician and a steady rising faith in the new.

Constraints

1. A great shortage is of medical personnel and qualified nurses.
2. No easy assessment is possible in terms of money for coverage of public health and medicine. In 1957 the coverage was 127 sq.miles but a medical institution in tribal areas serves twice or thrice the area.

3. Difficulties are of housing, children's education and contact with the outside world.
4. Complicated lease and service rules.

Recommendations

The problem of health personnel is viewed from two angles :

- (1) Sympathy towards the personnel posted in tribal areas, and
- (2) consciousness of its urgency. The Dhebhar Commission's recommendations are :

1. Creation of a separate cadre of medical personnel for 20 years on suitable inducements and simultaneous training of tribals.
2. Setting up of a number of Ayurvedic dispensaries to meet the need for scientific treatment of diseases.
3. Simplification of the problem of rules and procedure to suit the areal conditions so that the task of the medical personnel may be simplified and their work extended.
4. Concurrence with the suggestion of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in his report of 1956-1957 that a large number of peripatetic dispensaries and mobile health units be established rather than state dispensaries and hospitals to cover a larger area and number of Scheduled Tribes.
5. Establishment of multi-purpose mobile units with a propaganda section equipped with projector film or literature. Provision of medicine chests containing simple medicine and leaving them

with the headmaster, Panch or the village level worker. Utilising health posters with a tribal background spreading of. Knowledge about dietary conditions and sanitary habits stress is one education for health. The thing^k is more detailed than the suggestion of the Elwin Committee that providing vans in tribal areas would be realistic.

6. Remedying by two methods of the shortage of drinking water in most tribal areas as the Renuka Ray Committee suggested :

- a. Making available at least one reliable drinking water-well or any other source in each village, and
- b. Providing specially in hills for tapping perennial sources with pipe or bamboo connections or carved out hollowed trunks of palm trees.

7. Phasing of a programme undertaken for providing drinking water wells or clean water supply to all the villages, giving priority on the basis of distance and population.

8. Appreciating the good work of missionaries in the Central Belt and Assam, the Commission states the inadequacy of maternity services. The establishment of 259 maternity and child welfare centres and 179 health centres indicates that the fringe of the problem is untouched. Hence a phased programme of maternity and child welfare centres is recommended and an extensive programme for training dais.

9. The importance of public health in diseases mentioned earlier is also restressed by the Commission. Often, addiction to spirituous

and intoxicating liquors and drinks results in death or blindness. On the basis of surveys in the working of 'Prohibition' in the tribal areas of Gujarat and Maharashtra in coastal areas and areas of backward classes, the Commission recommends a phased programme and complete doing away with 'Parchooriya' a liquor playing complete havoc with the tribal life. Discontinuing the sale and use of distilled liquors and non-interference with the normal tribal brewage is also suggested. Hence the Commission suggests a review necessitating with the policy of permitting liquors and prohibiting the tribal's indigenous drink.

11. The Dhebhar Commission also pleads for cooperation with various non-official agencies like the Servants of India Society, the Indian Red Cross Society, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Christian Missions and Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh. A cooperative endeavour among the States, the Centre and non-official organisations and medical personnel alone will make programmes for betterment of tribal health or greater success.

Housing

The Dhebhar Commission next views four aspects of the tribal housing problem - shelter, sanitation, aesthetic tastes of the tribes and the comparative cost. The enormity of climate and material difference in the acquisitions of the people and the type of architecture

further complicate the issue. The Commission observes that whatever the type according to the climatic condition, indigenous material is used and the tribal house symbolises functional and artistic values. But many smaller tribal groups live in dirty and insanitary housing conditions. In the plains also, most tribals are landless and houseless.

Findings

The Commission points out that housing schemes should benefit the poorest among the tribals and dispossessed urban migrants. The Commission also mentions the psychological alienation mentioned earlier by the Elwin Commission. Often, construction of State Governments are replicas of other buildings with no appeal to tribals, nor any provision for comfort.

In the first Plan the allocation was Rs. 48.96 lakhs. The eight model villages were outstanding achievements. In spite of the non-availability of full figures for the Second Plan, a shortfall is indicated in every state. The full utilisation of liberal allocations could not have made a solid beginning to provide housing assistance to tribals. Further, the utilisation made went to non-tribal or other beneficiaries.

Recommendation

The Dhebhar Commission suggests that available limited funds may be used for improving existing tribal housed⁵ by provision of windows, drains and sanitation facilities.

Another thought is for ancillary facilities. Before the undertaking of a colonisation scheme, there must be provision for employment and for adequate ~~land~~ and irrigation. Tribal advice is to be sought.

Communications

The Dhebhar Commission views the problem of communications with continuous and constant emphasis in tribal areas from two angles : (1) That of tribal needs, and (2) From that of development of tribal areas as a whole. It further states that its advantages outnumber the disadvantages.

Tribal needs must take precedence although the quick march of events have witnessed compelling needs of frontier defence, industrialisation of mining and development of every kind. It also mentions how the survey of Lahaul and Spiti valleys, and other areas of the north, Uttar Pradesh, NEFA, Nagaland and Manipur, Vidarbha, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh have roads in areas approachable only as first. It mentions the quick tempo of the earlier slow progress in Rajasthan and in Orissa that lagged behind.

Envisaging that schemes of development in Gujarat and Maharashtra will transform the tribal areas by the end of the Fourth Plan period, the Commission cautions that protection against exploitation may be necessary when new roads are built and also that cultural lag in tribal development of consciousness must not keep pace with development of communications. It states that the degree of expansion must not cause inordinate strain on the tribals, and asserts that improvement in communications would improve tribals' national consciousness.

The Commission mentions the following five aspects of roads and communications based on tribal needs, prioritywise :

1. National needs and defence.
2. Tribal interests.
3. Industrial development.
4. Administration.
5. Trade and Commercial interests.

The Commission then states the expenditure and allocation in the first two Plans. In the First Plan, the expenditure was approximately Rs. 408 lakhs and 2,500 miles of roads, village roads, bridle paths and culverts were constructed. Of 408 lakhs spent, 331 lakhs were spent in Assam. Details in relation to State and Central State Sectors disclose that besides Assam, Andhra Pradesh and the

Punjab also made a fair beginning. In the Second Plan, the allocation for State Schemes was Rs.656 lakhs and for centrally sponsored programmes was Rs.223 lakhs, totalling to Rs.879 lakhs. Despite detailed plans to construct bridle and hill paths, bridges and motorable roads, the revised plan allocation and expenditure reveal a variation in shortfalls in financial targets from 41% in Assam to 65% in West Bengal. The average length of roads per 100 sq. meters of the area varies from 9.2 in East Nimar and Betul to 5.2 in Bastar. The M.P. Government could sanction only $\frac{1}{3}$ of the State Sector and half of the Central Sector programme. In Orissa, the surface road mileage is 4.4 per 100 sq. miles, but most rivers are unbridged. Conditions are worse in Scheduled Areas which are out of the State for several months. The Dhebbhar Commission appreciates comparative improvement in road communications given the difficulties of State Governments.

Approach

The Commission pleads for a definite approach for communications stressing that tribal needs must be the main ^{or} criterion in priority.

Recommendations

1. Generating interest on the basis of tribal interests and consulting local people in giving relative priorities. Planning must be based on prevailing conditions and benefits must accrue to a large

number of people. Tribals would prefer roads connecting the village with the forest, weekly market or school and these could be all-weather, widened for purposes of carts and jeeps depending on the occasion or the funds.

2. Advocacy of use of local material.
3. Bridle paths or foot tracks being parts of a phased programme and undertaking work in offseason when tribals are comparatively unoccupied.
4. Emphasising coordination of works whether of forests or Public Works Department or Community Development Section.
5. Mentioning special regional problems needing attention at the national level as in the case of border areas of Assam and Himachal Pradesh affected by political decisions and necessitating construction of arterial roads.
6. Encouraging of tribal cooperatives and the tribals getting fair wages.
7. Increase in the number of field staff, increasing of tribal employment and assurance of fair wages.
8. Building of air communication, and telephone and wire services.

Industrialisation

The Commission mentions the impact of industrialisation on the traditional tribal homes in the Central Indian and a portion of

the southern and western belts in areas witnessing tremendous changes owing to the expansionist industrial development policy of the First and Second Plans. The Commission mentions that surveys of the impact of industrialisation are good but not comprehensive. It views the problems in a broader light with an impact on the individual, family, society and the entire environment. With industrialisation of areas, tribals are becoming conscious of their rights, benefitting from development schemes and there is gradual integration with neighbouring population. The Commission's view is that while there can be no march of industrialisation, complete overpowering of the tribals must not be allowed.

Rehabilitation

An important subject is the rehabilitation of tribals after displacement. Dams built in the First and Second Plans as the Maithan, the Panchet in Bihar, the Mandira and Hirakud in Orissa. West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh have caused substantial displacement of the tribal people. Tribals emigrating to industrialised centres soon spent the extra cash and became landless labourers. Alternative land was allowed to few families, land was not irrigable and no return was offered to maintenance of families living on it. Cash compensation was seldom ~~for~~ utilised for productive expenses.

The problem of psychological and social adjustment also arises when from a ~~minimised~~ closed tribal society, the unequipped, uneducated and resourceless tribal is forced to accomodate himself in a new societal and universal pattern. In the third situation there arises the problems of absorption in the new economic set-up.

Recommendations

1. The Commission recommends some expenditure to meet the social objectives of rehabilitation, education, training and equipment of tribes for training in semi-skilled jobs.
2. The Dhebhar Commission recommends some scientific research studies regarding intergration of the tribals' scheme of rehabilitation with the project, inclusion of schemes for rehabilitation for education and provision for training and equipment of displaced people.

Action initiated

The Dhebhar Commission's recommendations regarding preparation of Record of Rights of tribals and examination of existing acts and regulations, allotment of land to tribals, provision of ancillary facilities etc. are all acted upon where possible by the various States. Details by way of legislation, allotment of land etc. are mentioned in subsequent reports mentioned in this study an in recommendations mentioned below sectorwise. The Hari Singh Committee appointed in

1965 has further studied the problem of forests relating to tribes.

Tribal Development Blocks

The Dhebbhar Commission's endorsement of the Elwin and Renuka Ray Committees' suggestion that Tribal Development Blocks should be continued has been accepted. Also while concentrating on economic development, education, health and communications, no definite percentages are laid down subsequently. The later approach is flexible, putting an end to the schematic budget.

The following four additional recommendations of the Commission have been acted upon :

1. Conducting of preliminary socio-economic surveys before commencement of Block activities by Tribal Research Institutes.
2. Increasing emphasis on productive employment and on integrated development programme.

While Tribal Development Blocks have been started in areas of concentration of Scheduled Tribes, and an intensive effort seeks to promote integrated development, these areas have not been brought to the level of the neighbouring areas within five years as is mentioned in the conclusion. The anomaly regarding dispersed tribes and the scheduled and non-scheduled areas remains. Abrogation of the schedule as envisaged by the Dhebbhar Commission has not been possible.

Indebtedness

The Commission's recommendations have been accepted. Mention may be made here of money-lending regulations and laws, and attempts at reconciliation and scaling of tribal debts in various states. Specific enquiries have been made into bonded labour and tribal indebtedness. Inspite of this, the enormity and complexity of the problem have remained. The Chilu Ao Committee of 1969 and Appu Committee appointed for the purpose specifically in 1971 have examined the problem further.

Cooperatives

The two recommendations of the Dhebhar Commission that have been acted upon are : Formation of Cooperative by preliminary education work and the cooperative movement being looked upon as an integrated programme. The Bhargava Committee for cooperatives of Backward classes (1962) dealt with the problem of cooperatives for tribals and the Bawa Committee appointed in 1971 specifically examined the subject of tribal cooperatives.

Education

1. In tribal areas, there is increasing emphasis on a craft or a technical bias. Most schools have no elementary equipment for craft training but it is difficult to generate tribal responses.
2. Ashram Schools of the residential type have been encouraged.

3. Emphasis in text books for tribals is on tribal culture, and there is increasing building of tribal literature. But the problem of acceptance of tribal dialects as an educational medium remains unsolved owing to its complexity.

Comments

1. While increasing tribal teachers are appointed in schools, shortage of staff is ^a problem. Except for Madhya Pradesh, action is yet to be taken on creation of a separate cadre for teachers.
2. Nomadic tribes and others too undeveloped for educational benefits have been discussed in the Shilu Ao Committee subsequently. Owing to their marginal numbers, the problem of nomadic tribes is ~~infix~~ infestimal. But no special projects and efforts have been made till 1974.

Health

1. A considerable leeway remains although Primary Health Centres and multi-purpose mobile units have been established increasingly in various states.
2. Drinking water supply has been given further thought and action taken to dig further wells in villages. There is a phasing of a programme for providing drinking-water wells or clean water supply to all villages.

3. There are increasing efforts on health education in tribal areas. Nutrition surveys, dietary conditions and sanitary habits are receiving special attention from voluntary agencies. Tribal medicines and approach to tribals ^{are} ~~is~~ also being studied.

4. Action is also taken through education and propaganda and aid of voluntary agencies to control the ill effects of drinking liquor in tribal areas. Increasing cooperation has also been sought from voluntary agencies and a cooperative endeavour between the states, the centre, non-official organisations and medical personnel is sought during conferences and visits of various representatives in the field.

Housing

1. The Committee's suggestions regarding tribal housing are accepted increasingly. The problem remains largely a matter of education i.e. of improved housing.

2. In colonisation of schemes also, increasingly, the first thought is of ancillary facilities. Increasing emphasis is on understanding and preservation of tribal culture through orientation camps at Ranchi and Andhra Pradesh and surveys conducted at tribal Institutes.

Communications

Many tribal areas still remain inaccessible and tribal needs have not always been the main consideration although the increasing attempt

is to concentrate on roads or bridle paths in the interior.

Industrialisation

1. The Commission observes that industrialisation and implementation on rehabilitation and colonisation are correlates.

Action Taken : Among the steps to ^{lift} the pace of industrialisation and prevent its overpowering for the tribals are the accent on development of agro-industries and encouragement of tribal arts and crafts, on forest-based industries, development of dairies and other live-stock.

2. Various facilities in education are also offered increasingly to tribals to equip them for higher jobs. The Technical Institute at Korba in Madhya Pradesh has been mentioned earlier.

Comments

1. Special action needs to be taken on establishment of separate child welfare centres and on creation of a separate cadre to work in tribal areas in the sectors of education and health.
2. The alternative to non-scheduled and Scheduled Areas has not been accepted.
3. Most financial rules and regulations sanctioning money for schemes and those relating to medicines are still complicated.

In sum, inspite of action taken on specific schemes, adequate finance and time limits, the leeway in tribal development is great.

PART III : Administration and the Institutional set-up

In 1952, the First Five Year Plan Report mentioned the dependence of the pace of development upon the quality of public administration, efficiency of its working and the cooperation evoked. In view of the complexity and magnitude of the problem, the Dhebbhar Commission stresses that needs of development will shape organisational patterns and make new claims both upon Government and Administration.

Machinery at the Centre

The Ministry of Home Affairs was responsible for the policy and coordination of all tribal welfare programme and influenced allocation of funds. In March 1961, a Central Coordinating Committee was formed upon the recommendations of the Estimates Committee of Parliament. It consisted of representatives of various Ministries to ensure better awareness, coordination and proper working of welfare schemes. The Minister, and a senior officer of the status of Secretary assisted by a staff, attended to tribal matters besides others. At this stage, the enlarged future functions of the Ministry were not anticipated. The Renuka Ray Committee suggested the setting up of a Development Department in the Ministry of Home Affairs to deal exclusively with welfare of backward classes. The ^{De}bbhar Commission suggests fulfilment of a time

limit of 10 years for specific targets.

Central Advisory Board

In 1956, the Ministry of Home Affairs set up a Central Advisory Board consisting of M.Ps. and voluntary workers to associate non-officials with tribal welfare administration programmes. Its functions are defined as follows :

- a. Assessment of tribal requirements
- b. Formulation of tribal welfare schemes, and
- c. Reviewing periodically the working of sanctioned schemes and appraisal and evaluation of benefits desired with a view to modify or improve schemes. The Dhebhar Commission states that its recommendations on tribal matters have been of a general character and are largely infructuous.

Planning Commission

The Dhebhar Commission suggests the improvement in evaluation of the financial and physical targets laid down by the Planning Commission.

Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

Recommendations

1. The Dhebhar Commission states that the assignment of the post for Commissioner for Scheduled ^{Castes} ~~Tribes~~ and Scheduled Tribes has to be properly defined, and suggests that it be

charged with the responsibility of qualitative evaluation and impact on tribals of and also of physical and financial targets.

2. The Dhebbhar Commission also suggests that the two other non-statutory functions relating to representation of the Union Government on the managing committees of non-official organisations and the examination of their accounts should⁽¹⁾ immediately be transferred from the Commissioner to some other agency.
3. A further recommendation is that the non-statutory functions of representation, evaluation and examination mentioned in paragraph 24.14 be withdrawn from the Commissioner. It suggests that universities and teaching institutes could be utilised for evaluative purposes. Periodical research is suggested by establishing specifically a cell for examination of 13 subjects it listed. These range from implementation of safeguards in relation to tribal rights in land and forest and other related topics, impact. of development through various sectors of development, growth of cooperation and Tribal Councils and Statutory Panchayats. Another suggestion is that a special cell be created for following up progress of work in Tribal Development Blocks constituting the largest single programme for tribal

welfare and development of weaker tribes.

4. Since the post of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Commissioner is spoken of as a link between the constitution on one side and the Union and State Governments on the other, and since the Commissioner apprised the Dhebhar Commission that he had received little support from the States, an alternative suggested was the creation of a separate Ministry at the Centre for Tribal Welfare.
5. The Dhebhar Commission recommends that there should be a separate post for Scheduled Tribes. Mention has been made of this in Part II of the Dhebhar Commission presented here.
6. The Dhebhar Commission ~~presented~~ also recommends that the report should enjoy the high esteem of other reports as of the Estimates and Public Account Committees.

Procedural Simplification

At the State level, there is a constitutional requirement for a Minister of Tribal welfare in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. In order to satisfy the aspiration of tribals, the Dhebhar Commission recommends that there should be a Minister, not necessarily a tribal, in States with a tribal population of one million and above in exclusive charge of tribal welfare, and responsible for fulfilment of tribal

policies and programmes. These states are Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal. Assam is not mentioned in the Sixth Schedule as its position is different. The functions of this department should be policy-making and coordinating. Functions parallel to other departments e.g. education, medical and public health need not be included in its functioning and it should ensure the inclusion in development programmes of other departments and providing of sufficient funds for them.

Machinery at the District level

The Commission then discusses directorate and machinery at the district level while giving thought to the type of administration best suited for under-developed areas. In certain fields of development, there is a multiplicity of agencies. The Dhebhhar Commission suggests procedural simplifications for sanctioning schemes upto a limit prescribed by the Government.

Below the District level

Here the Dhebhhar Commission endorses the view of the Committee on special Multi-Purpose Tribal Blocks that suggested that the Blocks be units not only of development but also of administration. Different systems have operated in various states functioning independently of the

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Block organisation.

The Commission suggests that in view of shortage of personnel in sectors of health and education, the terms and conditions of service should be such as to evoke response from able people with sympathy and understanding. The Commission emphasises a proper psychological approach and a reorganisation of administration.

Non-official Agencies

The Dhebhhar Commission mentions the simplicity, economy and efficiency of the early Christian missionaries, pioneers in health and education in tribal areas. It also refers to the Central Social Welfare Board and 6 other voluntary agencies besides the Rama Krishna Mission. It also mentions the Forest Labourers' Cooperative Societies that are extending its activities to the Tribal Development Block, Industries, Animal Husbandry, Cultural Activities, and Research, Survey and Evaluation.

Recommendations

The Dhebhhar Commission states that institutionalisation of development activities on healthy lines is the only way to perpetuate them.

Training Programme

The Dhebhhar Commission also attaches great importance to the training programme with reference to the officers and village leaders

at every level. It discusses categories of Government personnel and those of non-official agencies to be trained for planning and implementation of tribal welfare programmes and statutory organisations and spell out details of causes. At the Institute of Study and Research on Community Development and the Technical Institute at Korba in Madhya Pradesh, the subjects spelled out range from Applied Anthropology to Tribal Economy, socio-economic surveys and study of various schemes implemented by the Union and State Government for welfare of Scheduled Tribes.

The Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay offers a one-year course in Tribal Welfare and the other a two-year regular course in social work with specialisation in tribal welfare. The Commission observes that the course leans heavily on the academic side and requires improvement to make it more problem-centred and job-related. Subjects taught are of immediate practical utility.

Recommendations

The Dhebhhar Commission recommends that since the average tribal is not literate, a tribal bias could be given to the programme, and local dialects could be encouraged. It lays stress on selection where possible of local tribals, keeping of staff requirement to the minimum, and the basis of approach being a few selected items to satisfy

a few major needs of tribals through selected officials.

Representation of Scheduled Tribes in Services :

Anticipating an appreciable improvement in the next decade of the representation of Scheduled Tribes, the Dhebar Commission states that in Central and State Governments, representation of tribals in state services is not reassuring and Government's progress in effecting of order is slow. Adequate intake of tribal candidates is not ensured.

The State Governments in Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Rajasthan, Punjab and Maharashtra have a combined percentage of reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which is prejudicial to tribal candidates. Hence State Governments should be requested for fixing of a separate percentage for Scheduled Tribes for all the State services. Adequate representation to Scheduled Tribes in public undertaking is also suggested.

Among the facilities suggested in regard to the representation of Scheduled Tribes in services considered for implementation are the following : Keeping open a vacancy for a period of 2 years, getting a candidate near enough the prescribed qualification association of tribal officers with the selection board to maintain tribal interests and maintain a roster of appointments on the Bihar model.

Role of traditional Tribal Councils :

Recommended

The Dhebhur Commission states that introduction of new x statutory Panchayats in places where tribal councils are strong is not necessary and transfer is recommended of all powers of statutory Panchayats ultimately giving them recognition. In a tribal area with a mixed population, a serious attempt should be made for encouraging and developing as a functionary along with statutory Panchayats. Here the main concerns of the traditional councils will be socio-religious matters and statutory Panchayats with administration and development. The Commission stresses that elective principles must be introduced to the tribals. One function of the Statutory Panchayat in the tribal areas or councils should be in relation to forests. The Statutory Panchayats can settle their own social and religious affairs.

Two other recommendations relate to provision of a fair proportion of tribals as members and not raising the revenue or levy cesses and taxes for some time which can be introduced as economy and consciousness develop.

Surveys, Research and Evaluation

The Dhebhur Commission examines this from five different angles as follows :

1. From the point of view of fulfilment of the package programme discussed earlier in Part I of the Report.

2. The special surveys in educational, health and economic development of tribal areas.
3. Impact of tribal development in their areas, and
4. Renewal of deficiencies in other surveys.

Recommendations

The Elwin Committee lays stress on basic, preliminary and special or extensive surveys. The Dhebhar Commission restresses the need for rapid surveys of selected representative tribal areas with a time-schedule. A survey of a tribal area and an adjoining non-scheduled Area is suggested as to assess disparity existing between the tribals and the non-tribals and the comparative backwardness of tribal areas. It is suggested that State Governments should conduct surveys of problems in areas with an accent on specificity, to be carried out through the Bureaus of Economics and Statistics, Universities, Tribal Research Institutes, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences and similar other non-official agencies qualified to do this work.

The Dhebhar Commission also lays stress on programme of evaluation. It should be objective and present a balanced picture of achievements and deficiencies, and analysis of ^ucauses for failures or success.

The Commission also recommends surveys of problems on

immediacy - exploitation by money-lenders, impact of industrialisation on tribal life and health, education and communication problems. Areas of research are spelled out as tribal social organisation and tribal economy, arts or handicrafts practised, the need ~~x~~ to find economic potential an assessment of welfare and studying the effect of these schemes on tribal personality.

The above recommendations of the Commission about surveys, evaluation, and areas of research are repetitive in character.

Agencies doing research in tribal welfare/anthropology are enumerated as :

1. Government agencies :

- a. Cultural Research Institutes
- b. Department of Anthropology of the Union Government
- c. Research Department, MIPA

2. Other agencies

- a. Universities
- b. Non-official organisations.

The progress made by these Institutes cannot be claimed to be very satisfactory, the Dhebbhar Commission states. It found absence of any training facility and a lack of clarity about priorities in relation to the work to be undertaken.

The Dhebbhar Commission suggests the red^eefinition of the functions

of the Tribal Research Institutes to include research into areas detailed earlier. It also recommends that a Central Institute of Tribal Welfare may be set up to coordinate research on an All-India level and take up research affecting bi-states or multi-states e.g. shifting cultivation, impact of industrialisation etc.

Action Taken

1. Evaluation is being done by research and academic institutes and also by the Programme Evaluation organization's (P.E.O.) wing of the Planning Commission. The P.E.O. Cell of the Planning Commission is doing the evaluation of tribal development schemes in various tribal areas. The National Institute of Community Development at Mussoorie (N.I.C.D.), and the Community Development at Ranchi are doing research in the areas mentioned earlier. Research on tribals' attitudes and personality change are areas that still need scientific enquiry. Training courses offered by the Tata Institute and the two above Institutes are mentioned earlier.
2. Procedural simplification suggested has come only in 1974.
3. Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Assam have full-fledged tribal welfare Ministers and Andhra Pradesh had one during 1971-1974.
4. It is only in 1974 with the redesignation of the Blocks as I.T.D.P. that the Blocks deal with development and partially with administration.

5. Voluntary agencies have received increasing financial allocation, but not the importance or appreciation they deserve.
 6. A separate cell in the Home Ministry have been set up only in 1975 to deal exclusively with tribal welfare.
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Part IV

In Part IV, the Commission gives data on 20 states and statewise recommendations most of which are repetitive in character. Those relating to Scheduled Areas are mentioned in Part I, those relating to various sectors in States have been covered in Part II; and those relating to institutional set up are mentioned in Part III. In the Commission's data about the States, there are indications of general and sectoral financial allocation for tribal welfare, but statewise details are not available. In view of the above, the action initiated is mentioned in the 4 subsequent reports studies here and in the Basic Policy Papers of 1974.

The picture in brief of a few States and certain recommendations are given below. Economic development takes priority in most cases.

In Andhra Pradesh, the anomaly between the tribes occupying the Andhra and Telangana region remains. The slight shifts in the base of economy has been indicated earlier. The main problem is of land alienations.

Recommendation

The suggestion is for a more equitable allocation of funds under the Central and State schemes which show a definite bias of Andhra, region over Telangana. Another recommendation is for a higher allocation for

minor irrigation, land colonisation and housing. A further recommendation is for the original restoration of the State Government for Medical Aid, Public Health and Cooperation.

For Assam, the third Plan outlay suggested by the working groups for Scheduled Tribes of Assam was as follows :

Economic Development	340 lakhs
Education	150 lakhs
Health, Housing and other schemes	60 lakhs
	<hr/>
	Rs.550 lakhs
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The major problems of Assam in order of priority are mentioned as communications, education, shifting cultivation and soil conservation.

Recommendations

The Commission recommends increasing involvement of the local tribals in the implementation and planning of the schemes in the above areas.

In West Bengal the problem like Andhra Pradesh, is of tribal land alienation. Here there is no T.D.B. The tribals live interspersed with the rest of the community and as such, there is no geographical segregation.

Education

Recommendation

The Commission says there should be no encouragement for separate

schools, hostels or educational institutions. The Commission lays stress on agriculture and the weakest amongst tribals getting benefits on land. Emphasis is laid on agricultural development, followed by education and health. In the Third Plan, an additional outlay of Rs.55 lakhs to $\frac{1}{2}$ the total of 250 lakhs is suggested.

In Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the problem is one of evoking response to developmental effort. In spite of the low developmental effort, poverty is unknown to the three tribal groups. Coccoanut trees and bananas are grown and a saw mill has been started. Health and communication are the problems.

Problems of Himachal Pradesh are mentioned as lack of communication and a larger programme is suggested. In the integrated programme, accent is on economic development. There is no survey or soil classification of land and no necessity of declaring an area as scheduled.

The valleys of the isolated Manipur Hills with a 70 per cent concentration of population are advanced economically, educationally and ⁱⁿ a social habits. Rights of tribals have been recorded in grazing, jhuming and hunting. Administration and members of the Tribal Council

feel that their under-developed hill areas should be declared as Scheduled Areas. Absence of communication is stated to be a problem by tribal leaders. It calls for attention to the fact that the percentage of literacy among tribal is much less than the all-India figure of 16.61. Stress is laid on buⁱldings for education, schemes for development of animal husbandry and for establishing of a marketing corporation.

Giving the financial allocation as follows, the Commission states that there is an increasing employment of tribal students in various industries and in government and other sectors.

Development Head	Allocation enhanced because of D.C.'s proposal :
1. Economic Development	105
2. Education	30
3. Health, housing and other schemes.	25
	<hr/> 160

In Nagaland, rebel activities hampered development during 1956-1958, and the Commission stresses for more funds and more employment. Concentration is on the five problems of : (i) Communication (ii) Terrace cultivation (iii) Canning Industry (iv) Education and

(v) Forest-processing industries. The universal demand for water facilities could not be implemented due to heavy reduction in allocation for Health Service. Work of voluntary organisations is applauded but grants were not released in time and to the extent recommended.

Then the Commission mentions NEFA* which has two international borders with Burma and China and where the single line administration prevails. It was responsible for executing plans and schemes of development. The Dhebhar Commission states this to be the correct approach if things were to move according to schedule or time-table for far-flung areas cut-off from headquarters. Elwin's Book A Philosophy for the NEFA spells the approach of friendliness in a spirit of give and take, and lays a stress on quality. Tribals who gave evidence before the Commission stated that this approach was not accepted by all officers, leaving a gap between theory and practice.

The Dhebhar Commission suggests a broad educational approach and the emphasis is on craft and agriculture. It also recommends

* now Arunachal Pradesh

separate schools and hostels for boys and girls. In the Third Plan, developmental priorities for Scheduled Tribes are listed as below :

1. Communications
2. Minor Irrigation
3. Agriculture and Horticulture
4. Medical and Public Health

The Dhebbhar Commission was told by one official that Government did not recognise slavery. However, it was learnt that in a total population of 2,576 there were nearly 700 Aka and Dafla slaves. In Tripura which has no Scheduled Area the Chief Commissioner is the Head of the Administration. He deals with development and welfare matters and is advised by a Tribal Advisory Committee (T.A.C.) in 1956. Communications are considered important and scope for horticulture is indicated. The Commission also suggests the establishment of a Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation.

Conclusion

The Commission mentions a new awakening among the tribal people in which changes are initiated by the people, by the Government and by the tribals themselves. The Dhebbhar Commission analyses the tribal problem as one of protection and development and stresses the special

requirements of border areas.

Stating the objectives of development and national integration, equal distribution of benefits, respect of indigenous institutions, encouraging tribal leadership and increasing tribal participation. Tribals must be ensured continued dignity with equality of opportunity to be an par with other neighbouring areas. Change should be gradual. It ought not to uproot the tribals. The approach suggested is planned, scientific and national.

The Dhebar Commission suggests the continuity of the T.D.Bs to expedite slow development. Intended as an additional ^{step} to simplify the formula of Scheduled Areas conceived by framers of the Constitution from the awareness of the need for special care and welfare of Scheduled Tribes, these Blocks, covering most areas as at present, have only partially realised the object of formation of Scheduled Areas . The Commission suggests general legislation relating to land, forest and Money-lending to extend benefits available to tribals outside the Scheduled Areas. The relaxation in coverage of the Tribal Development Blocks and the alternative approach suggested is intended to solve partially ^{the} problem of non-S. As.

Concentration of blocks is suggested on the following four activities : 1. Economic development 2. Education 3. Health and 4. Communication.

In order to build cooperation, the machinery for economic development is suggested on the following lines :

1. Promoting various activities relating to agriculture and
2. Mobilising and organising labour on lines of cooperative Societies of Gujarat and Maharashtra.

In educational programmes, the stress is on vocation or craft, bringing up girls' education on par with the neighbouring area on plains, reduction of wastage and stagnation and follow-up programme for those receiving technical education in securing employment.

In the field of health programme, it is suggested that there may be drinking water facilities within half a mile range to all village and a maternity service centre at least within a radius of 10-15 miles from every village by the end of the IVth Plan. It is suggested that in the matter of distributing house sites and houses, weaker sections among tribals should be given preferences.

Target and time limit

For certain posts as those of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, a period of 20 years was anticipated as adequate.

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The post was not anticipated to necessary with the descheduling of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the areas and the accomplishment of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the targets. For other developmental programmes, a target of 10 years was suggested, and an completion of the implementation of the regulatory or legislative measures for protection, the abrogation of the Vth Schedule is suggested.

Observation

Most of the recommendations of the Dhebbhar Commission were not acted upon, as stated earlier. Among these was the alternative approach. Those acted upon required more earnestness from states.

As mentioned towards the end of the study, the accelerated change during 1960-1971 and 1971-1974, the two latter phases of tribal development studied here have witnessed change at an accelerated speed and of a degree and dimension unimagined ~~yet~~ hitherto. The Shilu Ao Committee of 1966 has wide terms of reference as the Dhebbhar Commission and its approach to the ^{vi}tribal problems would be the intermediary stage in this study, concluding with a reference to the Basic Policy Papers of 1974. These present a third approach from the wider angle.

5. Report of the Bhargava Special Working Group

Volumes I & II, 1961

Introduction

A working Group was set up in June 1961* to study tribal progress of backward classes, particularly the Scheduled Tribes in the field of cooperation in the First and Second Five Year Plans and to suggest measures for accelerating progress in the field during the Third Five Year Plan. The Chairman was Shri M.P. Bhargava and there were seven other members. The time of submission was a period of three months. Ultimately the ~~x~~ report was submitted in 1973.

Programmes for tribal welfare include measures of economic development, education and socio-cultural activities. Economic development schemes are the most important and these relate to agriculture, cooperation, irrigation, small industries, communications, etc. The pace of economic rehabilitation of backward classes can be made more rapid and sustained through cooperatives. The success of the Forest cooperative Movement in Maharashtra and Gujarat mainly because of

* Ministry of Home Affairs O.M. No, 12/1/61-SGT III dated June 15, 1961.

the association of voluntary agencies has been mentioned earlier. The role of cooperatives has been stressed by the Elwin Committee and Dhebhar Commission. In view of this the appointment of a Working Group ^{was} is a welcome measure on the part of Government.

Contents

The Report (Vol.I) consists of 4 parts in which two parts (Parts II and IV) are devoted specifically to tribes. Part II deals with cooperatives for Scheduled Tribes and considers 8 topics - economic and social characteristics in Tribal Areas, Cooperative organisation at higher levels, Forest-cum-labour contract Societies, Industries for Tribals, Agricultural Credit and Special Guarantee, Operational and Business Procedures, Finance and Indebtedness. Part IV deals with cooperatives for denotified and nomadic tribes.

Earlier approaches

The Renuka Ray Team has suggested simplification of the cooperative programme for tribals, the Elwin Committee has stressed the tradition for cooperative work. The Dhebhar Commission states that the cooperatives strive to achieve three important functions : combating factors causing depression, ensuring that maximum benefits of present production and further developments go to tribals, and it has to

go to tribals, and it has to encourage the habit of thrift as the background of a subsistent economy.

Observation

The Committee comments on the partial success of cooperation in tribal areas only because of absence of a pattern of organisation to suit the special condition of tribal areas. Tribals are used to dealing with a single agency i.e. individual trader for supplies, credit and marketing.

The Committee mentions the size of holdings and levels of agriculture development. Land is poor in these areas and these have to be kept fallow for 2 or 3 years after a cultivation of a year or two. Irrigation facilities are absent. The land holdings in various blocks differ from 45.33 areas to 5.32 acres. The Committee mentions the non-monetized earlier simple tribal economy. In the new pattern of economy, there is exploitation by traders and practices such as waf and palemode, Thakur Puja and Sola-gola. Other dubious methods are also explained. The roles of tribal leaders as head of social organisations are also mentioned.

Approach

Since cooperation is essentially a movement for self reliance and mutual help, the Committee suggests that it should not be viewed

in isolation but as an integral part of the overall economic development programme taken up for benefit of tribals. It states that good leadership and trained managerial personnel are the essential pre-requisites for the success of the cooperative movement.

Recommendations

A cooperative organisation meant to replace middlemen keeping in view the subsistent aspect of tribal economy is suggested.

The Committee also recommends that cooperative^s could handle transactions relating to agriculture and minor forest produce as both these are related and these are of considerable significance. Cooperatives could be used for execution of programmes for economic rehabilitation.

Organisation at Primary and Secondary Levels

Lower levels : The important features of the accepted policy enunciated by the National Development Council and accepted by the Central and State Governments are :

1. Organisation of cooperatives on the basis of the village community as the primary unit. In the interest of viability, increase of villages covered is suggested. Recommendations include a maximum population

of 3,000 i.e. 500 or 600 families cultivating families with a minimum membership of 100 families and a distance of not more than 3 or 4 miles from headquarters.

2. Broad test of viability on the part of a cooperative society to meet the requisite expenses after initial Government assistance.

3. Allowing cooperative societies to develop on their own without enforcing rigidity of organisation and size of cooperatives.

The target suggested is 60 per cent, coverage, at the 'hat' or village market level. The four sections in a service cooperative viz. grainⁿ, cash, marketing and consumers section, are also discussed in detail. For marketing, outright purchases are suggested.

Higher levels : The affiliation of the primary marketing of society is suggested to an area serving more than one block. Marketing of minor forest produce is suggested along with agricultural commodities and supplies. Central Banks are suggested at the regional State and National levels. The Rural Credit Survey of the Reserve Bank suggests creation of new conditions to operate effectively for the benefit of the weaker sections. Generation of such forces can be strengthened by cooperation in conjunction with the State.

State-partnered apex marketing societies are engaged mostly in the distribution of fertilizers and other articles. A few are taking interest in the marketing of agricultural produce. For giving a fillip to the programme, the Ministry of Community Development and

Cooperation, and the National Cooperative Development and Warehousing Board have taken steps to conduct commodity studies in respect of paddy, jute and wheat. At the instance of the Marketing Adviser of the Government of India, a survey of markets in tribal areas has been carried out by marketing departments of States to serve as a basis for further studies. Among the functions suggested are making proper arrangement for sale of commodities obtained by service cooperatives and the need for a coordinating organisation at a higher level whether at the district, region or State level. Formation of separate regional marketing societies is suggested in states as Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra to pay adequate attention to problems of marketing in tribal areas. The Bhargave Committee recommends continuing of the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes' Cooperative Finance and strengthening of the Madhya Pradesh Tribal Cooperative Development Corporation. For Madras, Kerala, Mysore and Union Territories like Manipur and Tripura, organisation of separate regional societies for tribal areas is not warranted and it is suggested that apex societies could deal with this and include some representatives of primary societies in tribal areas.

The setting up of a national corporation for Tribal Areas

Development is suggested to guard against lop-sided development and taking corrective measures in due time, and strengthening regional marketing societies. A further suggestion is that the Corporation may be established as a private limited company under the companies Act with promotional developmental and business functions.

In the pattern recommended for Banks in Tribal areas the provision of bye-laws is that payment of share capital can be made in instalments. In one State, tribals are stated to be too poor and unable to contribute to share capital. Assistance was provided to them from Famine Relief Fund. Hence facilities of loan are suggested for grain distribution, also outright purchases, assistance for godowns, managerial subsidy, the Regional Marketing Societies, Forest Cooperatives and District Unions. The use of the Governor's regulatory powers is suggested for dealing with the problem of tribal indebtedness. The report suggests a model of regulations that provides not only for registration of money-lenders but also for fixation of maximum rate of interest, proper maintenance of accounts and grant of regular receipts, machinery for enforcement, and debt relief. A model of debt relief is suggested.

In Part IV, Cooperatives for denotified and nomadic tribes are suggested. The Report gives an early history and working of Criminal

Tribes Act, Population of denotified tribes, causes of criminality, Exodus to Urban areas, Vagaries of Baroda, Cooperatives etc., Settlement on Government Waste Lands, Role of Social Service Agencies, Ashram Schools for children of Denotified Tribes. Their education is also discussed. Orientation courses for officers of the following departments are suggested :

1. Forests
2. P.W.D.
3. Tribal Welfare
4. Cooperation
5. Industries
6. General Administration, and
7. Agriculture.

Orientation camps, seminars and study tours are suggested to benefit the existing personnel. For technical knowledge and knowledge of socio-economic concepts, a paper on the Indian Constitution, Basic Features of Indian Economy and approach in the Third Five Year Plan is suggested. In the second year, a paper on Cooperative Development and Panchayati Raj Institutions is also suggested. Similar changes are recommended in the syllabus of the Engineering Colleges also.

The role of non-official voluntary agencies is also suggested.

The efforts made so far are mentioned and suggestions are made for training of a role of social workers for 5 to 10 years to improve the performance in the Cooperative sphere. Adequate and timely financial aid for 5 years to societies such as thrift-cum-credit Societies, industrial Societies and cluster type cooperatives is also recommended.

The financial aid is suggested from agencies as the National Cooperative Union and State Cooperative Unions as also special efforts to produce literature among workers and leaders of Scheduled Tribes, the Scheduled Castes and denotified tribes. The creation of a cell for studying their problems is suggested and also giving of assistance by the Government. Further the earmarking is suggested of a sum of Rs.25 lakhs for giving aid to various social service agencies for cooperative programmes. The Committee has suggested that a conference of voluntary agencies might be convened and further action taken on the basis agreed to.

Objective tests are suggested for performance of selected workers in cooperative to be successful as a business institution and secondly to build leadership.

Action Taken

In this report the action taken by Government by way of orien-

tation courses, studies and seminars etc. for officers and social workers and by way of introducing various papers in technical institutes, training of officers etc. has been commented upon. Increasing financial aid and its sources are also described. The creation of LAMPS and other decisions of the Bawa and Appu Committees are also discussed.

Observations

No action has yet been taken on creating a special cell as recommended, ^{nor} ~~her~~ has a sum been earmarked separately for social service agencies. No separate and sustained effort is made for nomadic or denotified tribes as an entity. Further references are made for efforts for them in the Shilu Ao Committee Report.

6. Report of the Hari Singh Committee : 1965

An inter-Departmental Committee consisting of Shri Hari Singh as the Chairman, and six other members was constituted in May 1965. It submitted its report in September 1967. This Committee on Tribal Economy in Forest Areas was appointed to work out details of proposals for tribal economic development in forest areas, consistent with the preservation and promotion of forest wealth. An additional member was appointed in July. There was considerable depletion in the membership of this Committee; a total of five members had left before final submission of the Report.

The appointment of this Committee on Forests, the Second Committee in the 2nd sub-phase of tribal development highlights the importance of forests in tribal development. This importance has been stressed by the Renuka Ray and Elwin Committees and restressed by the Dhebar Commission.

The Terms of Reference

The terms of the Hari Singh Committee were as follows :

1. Pattern of organisation of forest labour Societies.
2. Problems of operation and management.
3. Pattern of financial assistance.

4. Arrangements for technical and administrative guidance and other related matters.
5. Programmes of development in the Fourth and the Fifth Plan.
6. Changes etc. in the forest policy, if necessary, for implementing the programme.

Commission and Studies on Tribal Economy

This report refers to Chapter 12 of the Dhebhur Commission that relates to tribal policy.

Earlier, the directorate of Tribal Welfare conducted a study of the tribal people and areas of Madhya Pradesh. The Committee chaired by Dr. Verrier Elwin published a useful and authoritative account of tribal forest economy, with particular reference to shifting cultivation. Tribal economy was also studied by the special Working Group on Cooperatives and on Backward classes chaired by Bhargava. Besides the above two groups, the Hari Singh Committee also refers to the Provincial Government of Bombay in 1939, which referred to forced labour and the maximum remuneration of an area per diem. Intermediaries extracting forced labour are referred to by the Special Committee of Government of Madras in 1948. A survey was published in 1945 on conds in Hyderabad State by Haimendorf and K.G. Sivaswami conducted a survey of tribal labour in Madhya Pradesh. This

refers to aboriginal slaves. The tribal groups are referred to as indigenous people and wage-earners and it is said that a special impetus to the requirements of aborigines has come from developments. But the former land-holding tribes, the Hari Singh Committee observes nearly 20 years later are turning into tenants. The development of forest enterprises and of tea, coffee and other plantationsⁿ created a need for labour. Throughout India, tribals refer to their loss of lands with the coming in of large plantations.

Restriction of Economy by contractors

When the control over forest was vested in government, the tribal subsisting earlier on forests, became wage-earners. There was restriction of economy by contractors who obtained rights over forest produce and manufactured wood charcoal for which tribal labour was engaged.

Disturbances in Tribal Areas :

In tribal areas, most disturbances according to the Hari Singh Committee are caused by loss of freedom on land. Various insurrections are referred to viz., the Kol Insurrection of 1833, Santhal Insurrection of 1855, disturbances in Rampachodavaram, the uprising in Bastar

in 1911, the civil disobedience of Kondawallal and the violent guerilla warfare of Koyas of the Andhra Agency.

Shifting Cultivation

The Committee refers to the widely practised shifting cultivation within forests. The different agricultural operations mentioned are cleaning burning the trees, broadcasting and dibbling seeds, weeding, fencing and reaping divided appropriately among various members of the community on the basis of a clear division of labour.

Restrictions on Hunting and Fishing

The loss of freedom to hunt and fish on the tribal land has a special significance. The magnitude of the problem is communicated effectively by the Committee when it states that nearly half the tribal areas are covered with forests. But the activities were meant not only for food but for ceremonial and religious importance creation of enormous game sanctuaries further aggravated the situation. The Renuka Ray Committee has referred to the unwieldy and unmanageable Game Sanctuary in Naras^bpet, Andhra Pradesh. It contains no rare species, or game wardens and is unwieldy and unmanageable.

Geographical configuration of tribal areas is mostly located in attitudes between 1,000 and 3,000 feet. This sub-montagⁿe region results in loss of fertility and soil erosion and has resulted in

unproductivity of agriculture as a source of livelihood. Increasing pressure of population^{on} land has compelled the tribals to depend entirely for subsistence on forests. Any programme of tribal economic betterment necessarily involves exploitation of forest resources with a tribal welfare angle and not with the sole object of maximum revenue for the State.

Tribal Economy

The earlier tribal economy was non-monetised and the mode of exchange was barter replaced at present by part cash transactions.

Tribal Exploitation

Most tribals are illiterate without an idea of weights and measures or wholesale prices of consumer goods purchased in exchange of forest and agricultural produce. Malpractices by money-lenders are too subtle for tribals and include use of dual weights or giving different prices during purchase and sale.

Causes of tribal poverty

Describing the acute poverty in tribal areas necessitating the tribal to borrow even for his day to day consumption and needs, the Hari Singh Committee traces the causes of its acute poverty to excessive consumption of liquor, the extravagant expenditure on socio-religious ceremonies connected with marriage, birth, death and puberty rites, in some tribal groups or other social obligations such as lavish

hospitality to the entire village community. The heavy debt descended from 4 to 5 generations. In addition, there were consumption needs of the tribals.

The debt in tribal areas has taken the form of bonded labour particularly prevalent in Andhra Pradesh, Orissa & Rajasthan. A survey of 'Gothi', (name for bonded labour in Orissa) revealed that the period of service ranged from 3 to 5 years and the age of the 'Gothi' was generally between 16 and 20. In Madhya Pradesh, under the 'Hali' system, the debtor bonded himself or his relative to work for money lenders in lieu^u of the loan taken until securing of his release after repayment of loan.

Features of rural debt

The Hari Singh Committee points out that traditional honesty - one feature of tribal indebtedness is exploited most by money-lenders in the matter of full discharge of his obligation to the creditor. Loans are advanced without any security and in most transactions, no documents are exchanged. False and double entries are made in the money-lender's book. Initiative is even taken to induce the tribals to incur debt.

Government's forest policy and the tribals

The Hari Singh Committee gives the estimate that nearly half of

the tribal country is covered by forests and that of the 30 million tribal people, more than 50 per cent live either directly or indirectly on forests on which their economic, social and physical well-being depends. Prior to the British rule, the tribals lived in the forest^{and} without restrictions were the sole beneficiaries. Their philosophy of life was to live and let live.

Earlier Forest Policy

The Hari Singh Committee mentions the phases of transitional period from the time the tribals enjoyed complete rights over forests to a stage of total regulation through scientific forest management. These are marked by the passing of the following Acts - Forest Act 1865, Act VII of 1878 or Act XVI of 1921 and the Act of 1952.

The basis of the Forest Policy of India up-to-date was constituted in 1894. The basic objectives of forest management are answering the needs of the local population viz. the tribals and the promotion of their general well-being. Management of reserve forests should not result in curtailing of existing tribal rights and customs beyond a certain extent. In the maintenance of the tribals interest, the people must be protected against their own improvidence by perpetual productive maintenance of forest useful to the nation as a whole. In 1952, a resolution of the Union Government in Ministry of Food and Agriculture, laid down the present forest policy reiterating that

fundamental concepts underlying the existing Forest Policy of 1894 still hold good.

The new Policy

The Hari Singh Committee's conclusion is that the New Policy of 1952 that made many departures from the previous policy ^oresolutions adversely affects tribal forest interests. The two essential aspects of the forest policy relate to 1. The consistent balancing of local needs with national interest, and 2. The replacement of intermediaries benefitting from exploitation both of forests and local labour.

Coordination

The need is stressed in adequate measure of a liberal interpretation and implementation of the policy responsible for economic exploitation of forests. In Maharashtra and Gujarat, the policy was enforced at a high level. The Tribal Welfare Departments and non-official agencies have worked with varying degrees of success against heavy odds. Hence, the Committee attaches great importance to effective coordination and issue of tri-ministerial directions from the highest possible level in the three Ministries/Departments concerned - Agriculture (Forests), Department of Cooperation and the Department of Social Tribal Welfare.

Recommendation

The Central Board of Forestry could set up a special Committee

to review annually details of policies and programmes adopted for the & elimination of intermediaries in forest exploitation.

Programmes

In the initial stages, promotion of a uniform programmes in all the States and Union Territories is not thought feasible.

Recommendations

Attention should be on the central region of the country - Bihar, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh which contains a major part of the commercial forest wealth and the more backward tribal communities in the country. These States ought to set up high level coordination councils and implement a phased programme for elimination of intermediaries in areas inhabited by backward tribal communities within approximately 20 years. In other States and territories in the country, forest co-operatives could be developed by the Corporation Departments through their normal cooperative institutions.

Pattern for organisation of forest societies or of profit-sharing

Findings:

There is inter-state variation in factors such as :

1. The state of development of the cooperative movement
2. The financial position of normal cooperative agencies

3. The enthusiasm of voluntary organisations, and

4. Official capacity.

Recommendation

In view of the above, the alternative available is to work out details and tailor these to suit individual needs and situation each state or territory. No model pattern has been prescribed for the organisation of forest societies or pattern of profit sharing.

Financing of Forest Cooperatives

The Committee's findings are that forest cooperatives can help mitigate to a large extent the sufferings of the tribals, as is explained in detail above.

Recommendation

The Committee suggests that the Reserve Bank be persuaded to take a special interest in the development of forest cooperatives or to aid in financing such institutions.

Administration

Findings : The existing machinery in the Department of Social Welfare at the Centre cannot cope up with the requisite financial supervision of forest cooperative. A greater degree of discrimination, direction and financial control from the Centre is necessary.

Recommendation

The Committee advocates the immediate setting up of a small cell to devote itself intirely to this task. The ultimate aim will be to organise a National Tribal Development Cooperative Corporation to look after the Cooperative Programmes for Scheduled Tribes in forest areas.

Finances and their form

The Committee advocates an ad hoc provision of Rs. 5 crores for the programme that could be appropriately be called 'Elimination of Intermediaries in Forests' rather than 'Forest Labour Cooperatives'. At least 25 per cent of the amount^t should be in the form of a loan to replace grants in States where the movement has developed adequately e.g. Maharashtra and Gujarat. There should be further attempts to draw funds available under normal cooperative programmes to augment a small provision suggested in the tribal welfare sphere.

Action initiated

In the States of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh in the Central Belt, no separate councils has been set up. But, following the example of the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation and as recommended by the Bhebbhar Commission, the Madhya Pradesh State tribal Cooperative Development Society was registered as a federal institution in March 1960 to finance and provide technical

guidance and for controlling and coordinating the activities of primary societies of tribals. Subsequently in 1965, the bye-laws of the Society were amended to style it as corporation and to include in its objectives the establishment of processing units as saw mills, oil mills etc. In Bihar, the management of the society is to be initially entrusted to a person specially experienced in cutting trees, sorting them out etc. and for transport to the nearest railway station.

Observations

Action is ~~is~~ yet to be taken on setting up of special Committees, of a National Tribal Development Cooperative Corporation, or making an ad hoc provision.

The Hari Singh Committee's observations are detailed and its interest in forestry for tribals is scientific and specialised. As the Bhargava Committee dealt specially with cooperatives for tribals and backward classes with the objective of tribal progress, the Hari Singh Committee reviewed forests. Thus, at the national level, two of the important sectors in/tribal development viz. forests and cooperation are receiving attention. The next report, however, reviews tribal development from all angles as the Bhambhar Commission does. However, it does not deal with Scheduled Areas and related issues separately.

7. Report of the Committee on Plan Projects of the Planning Commission : 1966

The above Committee constituted * a study team on Tribal Development Programmes with the object of giving practical effect to recommendations made in the original. Fourth Five Year Plan Draft outline for welfare of Scheduled Tribes and for assisting State Governments in evolving concrete schemes of development specially adopted to tribal needs, conditions and areas :

Terms of Reference

The team was required to :

- a. Appraise the working of tribal development programmes, especially during the Third Five Year Plan,
- b. Study the problems and needs of tribal communities in each State.
- c. Ascertain how far the schemes formulated have enabled the tribal communities to secure an adequate share in benefits accruing from the general development programmes.
- d. Make detailed recommendations regarding lines on which schemes should be oriented in the Fourth Plan to accelerate progress, and
- e. Suggest measures for strengthening the administrative machinery and

* Resolution No. CCPP / Adm/16(1)/66, dated October 26, 1966
(Annexure I)

harnessing tribal leadership and institutions so as to ensure their fullest participation in the tasks of economic and social development.

Composition

Originally, the team consisted of Shri P. Shilu Ao as Chairman and Sarvashri Shrikant and B. Mehta as members. When Shri Mehta resigned in February 1967, Shivashankar was appointed.

The Work of the Team

Besides the All-India Report referred to here, the Team prepared 20 reports on individual States/ Administrations after a detailed study of their problems. In this study the report presents general observations and makes occasional Statewise references. For, this Report is finalised after consideration of the comments of various individuals to whom the Report was circulated and suggestions made in discussions by representatives of the Planning Commission, Ministry of Home Affairs, Departments of Agriculture, Community Development, Cooperation and Social Welfare and the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The ^{report} submitted in 1969 of necessity, covers ground already covered by the Ramka Ray and Elwin Committees and Bhebhhar Commission. Its contents, in details, have been mentioned below.

Contents

This report does not refer to any legislation being passed affecting the system of bonded labour akin to slavery prevalent amongst some tribal communities. A legislation as this recommended by the Dhebar Commission would have met with universal approval and enactment could have taken a year. But, barring Kerala and Rajasthan, no State Governments have taken serious action to make the practice illegal.

This report also deals broadly with development programmes undertaken in states for benefitting tribals. It again calls for attention at the national level for tribal problems of poverty, mal-nutrition, neglect, ill-treatment, their impact on welfare of tribal communities, the waste involved in undertaking schemes conceived on lines of the general development programmes, the lines on which they should be oriented to suit the tribal needs and conditions obtaining in the regions inhabited and other allied matters.

In this letter of September 19, 1969 to the Prime Minister, the Chairman Shilu Ao apologised that the team took ^{on} larger than expected in completing their labours. Apart from diverse activities, there were administrative and financial problems, taking note of tribal reactions to the Team's approach of tribal welfare, and the economic, social and political consequence of the measures undertaken for their uplift.

The report was ultimately submitted in 1969 although the team divided themselves into groups for completing the tour of the tribal areas.

X The Shilu Ao Committee Report, like the Debbar Commission's Report, is in 4 parts. In Part I, an attempt is made to pin-point the main weaknesses in the tribal development programmes. The team also refers to manifestations of discontent and unrest which came to the teams notice in tribal areas. Part II of the Report is devoted to a study in detail of each sectoral programme. Part III deals with Administration and Institutional set-up and Part IV with provisions contained in the Constitution to promote educational and economic interest of the Scheduled Tribes that may not strictly fall within the purview of planned development. It stresses how tribal development is linked in a large measure to the satisfactory working of the safeguards provided for them in the Constitution.

While studying progress in regard to tribal development The Shilu Ao Committee focusses specially on problems pertaining to indebtedness, land alienation, educational backwardness and inadequacy of communications.

Part I

The Shilu Ao Committee gives an introductory note on the demographic economic and other salient features of tribal population.

Scheduled Tribes

It refers to the origin of the term 'Scheduled Tribes', its specification into 'A' and Part 'B' states called the constitution (S.T.S) order, 1950 and a similar order in respect of the then Part 'C' states.

Revision of the List was made as per the following Central Acts and Presidential Orders relevant to Scheduled Tribes.

- i. The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) order , 1950
- ii. The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) (Part C States) , order 1951.
- iii. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) Act, 1956.
- iv. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes' Lists (Modification) Order , 1956.
- v. The Constitution (Andaman and Nicobar Islands) Scheduled Tribes' order, 1959.
- vi. The Bombay Reorganisation Act, 1960
- vii. The Constitution (Dadra and Nagar Haveli) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1962
- viii. The Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966.

ix. The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) (Uttar Pradesh) Order, 1967.

x. The Constitution (Goa, Daman and Diu) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1968.

Advisory Committee (1965)

The Constitution was based generally on recognition of allround backwardness. In case of Scheduled Tribes, it is mainly because of living in inaccessible areas that cut^d them from the main stream of development ^{that there were} and the consequent need for their advancement and welfare, the stress being more on Scheduled Tribes, than on Scheduled Castes. Thus in 1950 and 1956, primitiveness and backwardness were tests applied for specifying a tribe as a Scheduled Tribes. These lacked consistency and several anomalies came in for criticism in Parliament. In June 1965, an Advisory Committee set up for advising Government on the revision of lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes suggested revised list of these both.

Tribal Welfare Policy

The Team States that in the minds of tribal welfare workers, there was real confusion as regards the real aim of tribal welfare policy. Jawaharlal Nehru believed that tribals should develop along the lines of their own genius without any imposition. The Bhebbar Commission believed in rapid integration.

The Shilu Ao Committee stressed that the view that total assimilation to be reached by the end of the Fourth Plan is somewhat optimistic. Its view is pragmatic that reaching the goal within 5 or even 10 years would be to oversimplify the problem. It states that factors varying against progress are both many and varied and the necessity to review the position and provenance of restatement of the goal of the policy is traced to these factors.

Disabilities of Tribals

Mentioning the disabilities of the tribals for centuries e.g. poverty, neglect, mal-nutrition, ill-treatment and exploitation, the Shilu Ao Committee mentions the psychological approach to be the best. Vested interests are one barrier. The other constraint that may be taken as a challenge is the lack of uniformity in development. Besides, ethnic characteristics, cultural practices, and wide disparities exist in their social and economic pattern.

Approach

The Shilu Ao Committee's view is that owing to differential development, the ^{sk}task is to relate the pace of development to the stage of tribal society and tribal receptivity. The stress is on psychological adaptation which is considered as important as material progress, it is the

bridging of the cultural lag.

Hence, the study team suggests the redefinition of the aim of tribal welfare policy to be socio-economic progressive advancement. In the case of tribes with a contact with general population living in plains, this may be 5 or 10 years whereas with other tribes it may be 20 years.

Tribal Groups

Mentioning the bewildering mosaic of tribes, the Committee mentions three groups of tribes in India :

1. Those in the hunting and food-gathering stage-found in pockets in Southern and Central India, and the Andamans.
2. A virile, freedom-loving, politically conscious tribals in North-East India who are advanced and enlightened, and
3. Those in the vast tribal belt stretching like a girdle across Central India from Orissa in the East to Gujarat in the West, with varying levels of tribal development.

Classification of tribes

1. The Shillong Committee mentions the persistence of certain anomalies of classification that came to its notice. This anomaly persists in spite of the Revised List of 1965, due to absence of clear definition of principles or criteria governing the classification.
2. The Committee also mentions the anomaly of denial to tribal members of

denotified communities of benefits admissible to their scheduled brethren that is against the spirit of the constitution. The Commission's hope is that the Parliamentary Committee appointed to go into the question would help in ending the anomaly and injustice inherent in the present classification of tribes.

Recommendations

1. The ~~Executive~~ Committee suggests the setting up of a suitable machinery to revise on a scientific basis the classification of Scheduled Tribes. It recommends the appointment of a high-powered Commission consisting of anthropologists, social workers, administrators and legislators for the purpose.
2. It also suggests the conducting of further socio-economic survey of tribal groups by Tribal Research Institutes (T.R.I.), the Bureau of Economics and statistics and the Tribal Welfare Department. The NWACER has regarded to undertake such a survey of the Tribal Belt (Central India) with the assistance of the T.R.Is. at a moderate cost.

Five Year Plans

The Shilu Ao Committee gives in brief a large number of schemes undertaken to promote educo-eco-socio-economic betterment of tribals. It mentions the constraint of the absence of an evaluative machinery in the States resulting in there being no impact of development programmes on the tribals.

First Plan : Of the provision of Rs. 250 million for Scheduled Tribes' welfare, Rs.150 million were by the Government of India and Rs.100 million by the State Government, to be found from their own resources.

Second Plan : Development schemes were taken up under two district programmes, the State Sector programme and the centrally sponsored programme. In State Schemes the expenditure was 50:50 and in the centrally sponsored schemes it was met entirely by the Central Government. State sector schemes fell into three broad categories (1) Education (2) Economic Uplift and (3) Health, Housing and other schemes, Centrally sponsored schemes were confined to those meriting high priority or related to removal of certain special disabilities that required intensive measures.

Third Plan : Provision was for Rs.593.92 millions in the Central Sector, and Rs. 374.25 million in the State Sector. During the Third Plan the pattern of State assistance was 50:50 basis except in the case of Autonomous Hill districts of Assam where it was cent per cent. In education in 1963-63, Central assistance was raised from 50 per cent to 70 per cent. From 1967-68 onwards, however, a uniform pattern of assistance at the rate of 60 per cent for all groups of schemes under the State Sector has now been prescribed. Schemes qualifying for assistance are grouped under three heads :

Education

Economic Uplift

Health, housing etc.

In the Third Plan, Centrally Sponsored Programmes for welfare of Scheduled Tribes were :

1. Post-matric scholarship,
2. Tribal Girls' Hostels,
3. Tribal Development Blocks,
4. Cooperation, including Forest Cooperatives,
5. Tribal Research and Training,
6. Pre-examination Training.

Expenditure on Blocks

The Shilu Ao Committee quotes figures to suggest that expenditure on welfare of Scheduled Tribes has been on the increase from Plan to Plan and the expenditure incurred during the Third Plan was 21.56 per cent more than that incurred during the Second Plan. This is because of the increase in population of Scheduled Castes as follows :

<u>Scheduled Tribes</u>		
	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1951	30,000,000	2.5
1961	29,346,000	6.8
1971	38,200,000	7.8
1978	Over 40,000,000	8.0 (approx.)

* During 1951-1961 the list of Scheduled Tribes was also revised. See list of legislation at p. 333 - Annexure 2.

In the First Plan, main schemes undertaken related to education and economic development, improvement of roads and communications and providing medical and public health facilities. In financial terms, Economic uplift took priority. But per capita expenditure was in regard to schemes pertaining to Health, Housing and Communications. The Team does not comment on priorities adopted in the Third Plan and while recognising that deviations may be necessary in the light of needs disclosed after socio-economic surveys, the same adoption is suggested in the Fourth Plan. The Shilu Ao Committee reports that States could not give an indication of the felt needs of tribals because of absence of SES (Socio-economic Surveys), no firm indication of availability of resources, unspent balances drawn from the Treasury and accounting of amounts in personal ledger account of Collectors. It points out how in one block there were cold storage facilities that had no use for tribals.

Observations of the Committee

The Committee lays stress on regional balances in development. In Annexure VI it gives a list of Scheduled Tribes in which those marked an asterisk are listed as backward. The Committee says that delay in implementation of ^amany recommendations of the Dhebar Commission and other high level bodies to protect tribal rights has worsened the position sought to be remedied. The Shilu Ao Committee states that the failure of ~~states to pay attention and also to take advice has resulted in failure of~~

states to pay attention and also to take advice has resulted in failure of ambitious schemes and consequent waste of resources.

Recommendations

1. The Committee suggests the creation of a non-lapsable fund for tribal welfare constituted on the ⁿlives of the Central Road Reserve Fund. This is possible under Article 275 of the constitution.
2. The Planning Commission should stipulate, as in Andhra Pradesh, that tribals receive a reasonable share of benefits from general development programmes. A condition of approval of State Plans should consider the tribal needs and indicate the direct ones and extent to which benefits from the programmes would reach the tribals.
3. The establishment is suggested of a permanent cell in proposed Evaluation Wing of the Planning Commission for evaluating regularly welfare schemes to assess impact on tribals in different areas.
4. earmarking specifically for tribal development a reasonable percentage of the special provision which the Planning Commission proposes to make in the Fourth Plan for development of backward areas.
5. Exhibiting separately Tribal Development Programmes and not as a part of the Social Services. The size of any cuts or reduction in Plan allocations should not stop important Tribal Development Programmes.
6. Restoration of the recommendation of the Dhebar Commission for

construction of a non-lapsable Tribal Welfare Fund.

7. Alteration and addition of benefits to remedy the imbalance in development among the tribal communities.

P A R T I I

In Part II, the Committee reviews the programmes in brief. A study of tribal customs, habits their life and its relation to land, and a careful assessment is made by the Committee. It mentions shifting cultivation and remedial measures to grant subsidy for purchase of fertilisers and pesticides.

Recommendations

The Committee makes the following recommendations for improved agriculture :

- a. Setting up of demonstration farms.
- b. Distribution of improved agricultural implements, manure and fertilisers and high yielding varieties and of seeds, and
- c. Providing credit facilities.

For restoring rights of tribals to land and preventing them against alienation of land, recommendations made are :

- a. Completion of survey and settlement rights as a short-term measures,

by conferring on the tribals records of rights so that their credit-worthiness improves.

b. Enacting special legislation against alienation of tribal land to non-tribals by authorities. Using of powers of Governor under the Vth Schedule even for retrospective effect by the state reserving the right to evict encroachers in inter sts of tribals.

c. Abolition of Jenmi system in Kerala and Muttadari system in Andhra Pradesh.

Soil Conservation

In these programmes, contribution of tribals may be expected in labour and not cash. The Committee suggests that the problem should be viewed in relation to adjoining areas.

Recommendation

' There should be a comprehensive and integrated soil conservation programme to be drawn up by Regional Development Boards to be set up by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the State must be made responsible for implementation of the programme.

Forest Policy

Analysing the Forest Policy since 1894 the Shilp Ad Committee states that in 1952, the Government of India suggested that despite a slight loss of revenue, tribal welfare need not be the sole responsibility of the

Forest Department. Reconciliation of the interests of Scientific Forestry with tribal interests is possible.

There has been a polarisation of benefits accruing to the more progressive sections amongst them. Development effort must correct this intra-tribal imbalance. In the Fourth Plan, these neglected tribal communities must receive special attention.

Recommendation

A socio-cum-techno-economic survey alone can be a proper base for socio-economic advance of tribals that lies in a judicious synthesis of the Tribal Development Block concept and the Area approach. For proper implementation of and speedy redressal of grievances in exercise of his special powers, the Governor may appoint an agency of the T.W.D., after suspension of the Panchayat Raj legislation where warranted. The idea is to depolarise the evident polarisation of benefits going to more progressive sections amongst them to correct intra-tribal imbalance. In the Fourth Plan, areas neglected in the past and tribal communities benefitting least must get attention according to the Shilu Ao Committee.

Cooperatives

The Shilu Ao Committee reiterates the following recommendations of the Dhebar Commission :

1. The importance of simplifying the procedure to ensure prompt

disposal of applications for loans from Cooperative Societies.

2. Setting up of a separate department to deal with tribal economy on the lines of the Agricultural Credit Department.
3. There was need for advancing loans on the security of the produce and the importance of linking credit with marketing.

Credit Facilities

Committee's findings

These findings though repetitive have been mentioned below in order to communicate the seriousness of the situation. Maharashtra, Orissa, Bihar and Andhra have undertaken legislation to regulate the operations of the money-lender, the protective provisions of which have been defeated because of the dubious methods of the money-lender. The Commission also mentions that the strong sense of tribal honesty would not repudiate a debt, however usurious the rate of interest.

Recommendations

The Shilu Ao Committee suggests that the State must meet the demands of tribal credit by providing alternative sources of credit.

It further suggests that propaganda by voluntary agencies is also expected to help in encouraging the tribals to take advantage of debt relief legislation.

Tribal Development Blocks

The following is a summary of the important recommendations (of necessity, repetitive):

1. Sufficient flexibility of the budget, a need necessitated by the constraints of the schematic budget mentioned by the Renuka Ray and Elvin Committees as also the Dhebbhar Commission.
2. A pragmatic approach pointing out to the unrealistic nature of an All-India pattern of Tribal Development Blocks.
3. For re-orientation of programmes undertaken by the T.D. Blocks, the State Governments' appointing small committees consisting of officers of various development departments to draw up, in consultation with local tribal leaders and Block Officers, programmes priority-wise with activities of each Block.
4. Making a special provision as repeatedly stressed by the Government and the Planning Commission, for tribal development to be regarded as a supplement to the general provision.
5. Pointing out the confusion in introducing too many formulas, the team suggests giving agriculture the highest priority in any programme.
6. Extending the life of a block to 15 years by adding a new stage-stage III with a further allocation of Rs.10.00 lakhs per Block.
7. Vesting the control of the Block in the T.W.D.
8. Recommending monetary and other suitable incentives to attract suitable person.

9. Picking officers with special aptitude for tribal welfare work and posting them to work in tribal areas for a minimum period of 3 years.
10. Reiteration of the recommendation of the Annual Conference of Community Development and Panchayati Raj and the conference of State Ministers of Community Development and Panchayati Raj for adequate representation of tribals and a relaxation in educational qualification.
11. Suggesting that if villages cannot be covered by T.D.Bs., which may be set up in the Fourth Five Year Plan, there could be earmarking of separate funds for their development on a per capita basis, corresponding to the per capita provision for the tribal population covered by Tribal Development Blocks.
12. Criterion for starting schemes should be needs of the population and not convenience of the Block staff.
13. Waiving of tribal popular contribution or recovery in the shape of labour, as was suggested by the Dhethar Committee.
14. Starting of sub-blocks is suggested in pockets of tribal concentration in the district.

Cooperatives

1. A policy decision is suggested to liquidate over a reasonable period forest contractors and their replacement by a cooperative agency on Gujarat and Maharashtra patterns.

2. Taking concrete steps on the lines suggested by the Bhargave Committee.
3. Gradual extending of the experimental scheme undertaken in Bagicha and Gandhwani Blocks in Madhya Pradesh to advance loans to tribals to meet expenses of consumption and social needs.
4. Persuading the Reserve Bank to finance M.P.S.T.D.C. in tiding over its difficulties.
5. Giving monopoly of minor forest produce not to a separate Government agency but to the M.P.S.T.D.C.
6. Appointing of a high level committee to examine the working of the A.P.S.T.C.P. and D. Corporation and make suggestions for removal of difficulties hampering the working and ensuring coordination of activities of the corporation with Cooperative Societies performing parallel functions.

Indebtedness

Some of the recommendations made are :

1. Selecting areas for an all-out effort to rid the area of money-lenders; creating an imprest fund in Tripura and its reconsideration; introducing a scheme for liquidation of indebtedness as in the Koli Hills where conditions are favourable for introducing a scheme for liquidation of indebtedness.

These recommendations are grouped together as they are region-specific.

2. Identifying weaknesses in existing legislative and executive measures to regulate or control money-lending and incorporating suitable safeguards by amending legislation to defeat devious methods of moneylenders circumventing the law. Assistance is sought of voluntary agencies and Panchayati Raj bodies and it may be extended to check extravagant spending of tribals at rituals and ceremonies.

3. Making available cooperative credit in an adequate measure and simplifying the procedure to attract the tribal to take advantage of credit facilities provided by the society.

4. Giving pattas to tribals to improve credit worthiness and not restricting their rights to sue land to the point of preventing from mortgaging their lands to cooperative and other approved societies.

Education

Ag.

Findings- The Shilu Ag. Committee's observation on education are more or less similar to those of earlier studies. The Shilu Ag. Committee mentions that although the Dhebhaj Commission's observation is that while most tribals feel that education is the normal obligation of parents, there is dropping and wastage and percentage of tribals is lesser than that of S.C.S, especially among the girls.

The literacy rate for the tribals was 8.5 per cent against 24 for the entire country, and among women it was only

3.2%. Enrolment of figures in 1964-65 show that the extent of coverage of tribals is satisfactory in Assam, Bihar, Gujarat and Maharashtra. ^{The} Committee makes observations in pre-primary and primary education, middle schools and secondary schools. It mentions absence of schools in many places inhabited by tribals, lack of teaching arrangement in tribal dialects, unsatisfactory working of single-teacher schools and lack of qualified teachers. These factors are considered responsible for hampering progress.

To accelerate progress, the following measures are suggested:

1. Preceding at the primary level by pre-primary education of 1-3 years' duration.
2. Granting of attendance allowance to teachers on the basis of enrolment and attendance of tribal children.
3. Giving free books and writing materials and also cloth for uniforms.
4. As recommended by the Education Commission, medium of education in the first two years being the tribal language, and preparing books using script of regional language.

5. Securing of services of trained teachers.
6. Fixing school hours to synchronise education of children with families.
7. Abolition of single-teacher schools.

Middle Schools

In this, the figures of enrolment collected by the Ministry of Education show that extent of coverage is lower-than that at the pre-primary stage.

The Committee suggests provision and expansion of Ashram Schools to meet the problem of scattered households. Upgrading Ashram Schools at least the middle-level school accompanied by establishment of high schools at selected places with hostels for both boys and girls to minimise wastage is suggested. Also, establishment of Central Schools of the residential type manned by well-paid teachers to teach science and mathematics so that the greatly handicapped tribal students could study in technical schools.

Linking of training to job opportunities and relating of the skills imparted to requirements of industries as in Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh is suggested.

Health

1. In the Fourth Plan, in the field of public health, the emphasis ^{was} ~~is~~ the curative rather than preventive.

2. Giving the highest priority to the supply of uncontaminated drinking water to tribals, a view of the Renuka Ray and Elwin Committees and the Dhebhar Commission.

A survey is suggested of villages with drinking water scarcity and a phased programme for the supply of pure drinking water to suit the area and priority in the rural programme for acute scarcity of drinking water.

3. Making suggestions regarding location of Primary Health Centres to serve rural needs.

Housing

Consultation with tribals regarding design of houses is commended as a condition precedent to the approval of any housing scheme for tribals to guard against the contingency of houses being rejected after reconstruction, a point made earlier by the Renuka Ray and Elwin Committees and Dhebhar Commission also.

Recommendation is made of provision for the construction of a reasonable number of houses at few selected centres every year instead of dispensing effort over a large number of small

housing scheme.

Agriculture and Allied Sectors:

1. The Ghila Ao Committee states that out of a total tribal working population of 160 lakhs, 149 lakhs or about 88 per cent are engaged in agricultural pursuits. As such, it should be given high priority in any tribal development programme, a point re-stressed by the Committee when suggestions are made regarding the T.O.B.
2. Regulation of shifting cultivation on scientific lines, as in NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh) is recommended, and also simultaneous ^W meaning away from the practice by undertaking after adequate investigation of colonisation schemes. This has been suggested by most Committees and the report by M.S. Sivaraman.
3. Periodic visits, supervision and guidance by field officers with a suitable background of agricultural operations in colonies is suggested to enable newly settled families to acquire adequate knowledge of the technique of cultivation. The Committee suggests that preference should be for officers drawn from the Agriculture Department.
4. The C.T.O. of the Government of India may provide assistance for mechanised reclamation and development of land

of tribal allottees and other available sizeable tracts of land.

5. Simultaneously with regulating shifting cultivation, steps are recommended for regulating shifting cultivation to make agriculture more remunerative by encouraging the S.T. agriculturists to take to progressive methods of agriculture by (a) setting up of demonstration farms (b) Distribution of agricultural implements, manure and fertilisers, and high yielding variety of seeds and (c) Providing credit facilities.

Suggesting region-specific assistance to the tribal in every way, the Shilu Ao Committee suggests that in Manipur, for instance, there may be an increase in subsidy for terracing fixed at the present level. In Banawara district at Rajasthan, where long staple is grown, favourable conditions are reported for establishing on cooperative basis a cotton ginning and pressing factory. Other practical suggestions that are simple yet imaginative are that improved agricultural implements distributed to tribals should meet with their approval and make available in the vicinity repair facilities.

Minor Irrigation Programmes:

Considering the set up as inadequate, the Shilu Ao Committee makes the following recommendations:

1. Appointing an officer of the rank of an Executive Engineer under the administrative control of the Director of Tribal welfare to assist the panchayats in the development of Tribal welfare to assist the panchayats in the development of minor irrigation including renovation of old tanks in accordance with a phased programme.

2. Some suggestions to facilitate prompt execution and speedy implementation of minor irrigation projects are as follows:-

The taking of active steps to be taken to remove bottlenecks concerning prompt execution of minor irrigation projects in tribal areas, the extending to tribals of other states of concessions as in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh where a substantial subsidy is given to tribals for buying prompt sets and the waiving of population contribution in respect of minor irrigation schemes.

Communication and Market facilities:

Recommendations.

1. Mentioning the lack of marketing and communication facilities as serious handicaps in sale of cash crops and fruits as in Lahaul and Spiti districts of H.P. suggests the setting up of a potato grinding and dehydration plant of medium size in the district. In a similar situation in

Koli Hills in Madras where fruits such as jackfruit, guava and banana go waste, the starting of a multi-purpose cooperative society and setting up of a cold storage plant are suggested.

2. Practical measures are also suggested for encouragement fisheries that were earlier suggested by the Jhebbhar Commission, by undertaking surveys to locate water areas usable for stocking fish in tribal areas. Renovation of district tanks and construction of small tanks in the interior to stock fingerlings are suggested in Vaidaland so the village may meet its needs.

3. For communication, a serious handicap in most tribal areas, in the Fourth Plan, in any programme of road construction, special attention should be paid to needs of backward areas in Nagaland and inaccessible regions in other tribal areas. A naval base is suggested in Car Nicobar. In Tercaud Block of Madras, a phased programme for the construction of link roads and approach is suggested.

4. Priority is suggested for all weather roads and their linking up tribal villages with weekly markets, hospitals, dispensaries and schools.

5. Another suggestion is that ambitious^u schemes of road

development are being financed from the meagre tribal welfare funds. Since funds under the Backward Classes sector are meant to supplement and not supplant the provision in the general sector, such diversion of funds should not be allowed.

Tribal Articulations:

Recommendation.

An objective study of the causes that have contributed to the manifestations of discontent and unrest that have come to notice in certain tribal areas is recommended in order to have a correct approach to the tribal problem before discontent took an ugly turn and culminated in an upheaval. In order to remedy the lack of rapport between officers of tribal population which facilitates propagation of subversive propaganda amongst tribals by interested parties out to foment troubles. Tracing its main cause to agrarian and economic discontent, the Shilu A. Committee suggests that its real remedy lies in taking effective measures to safeguard tribal rights in land and forests and in restoring to them lands from which they have been illegally dispossessed and in stream-lining of administration to ensure speedy redressal of genuine grievance.

Part III,

Administrative and Institutional Set Up:

Recommendations:

The Committee advises the following on
Administration and Institutional set-up:

Simplicity should be the key-note particularly at the district and village levels for effective administration in the tribal areas. It should be geared to suit the requirements of a dispersed, illiterate population, living in inaccessible places with a primitive social organisation and in poor economic condition. Clubbing of tribal welfare with that of the S.C.S. and O.B.C.S. is both wrong and administratively inexpedient.

Since the Department of Social Welfare handles a number of activities besides tribal welfare, the team reiterates the recommendation of the Dhebar Commission that the services of experts should be at the disposal of the social welfare department in sectors as cooperation, Education, Agriculture, Forests etc. as to follow actively progress of work in these fields.

The Commission observes that it took about a decade to build up the field organisation of the

Commissioner for SCs and STs and its withdrawal before the building up of the Department of Social Welfare was hasty. Hence the Team urges that immediate steps may be taken to fill the vacuum soon. A clear definition of the function of the Zonal Directors is urged.

The Study team regards as unsatisfactory an arrangement where the Commissioner for SCs and STs is required to discharge his constitutional functions through the very agencies on whose performance in certain spheres he may have to judge by virtue of his office. The team recommends that his organisation be strengthened to enable him to make independent enquiries in the field with regard to the working of Constitutional safeguards for STs. Assistance of Universities or other agencies to undertake studies on his behalf and reimbursing the cost of such studies is suggested.

The Shilu Ao Committee reiterates the recommendation of the Dhebhar Commission for appointing a separate Commissioner for STs and suggests of necessary, amendment of Article 338 of the Constitution to provide for the appointment of two Special Officers are for each group of intended beneficiaries. The undivided attention of a

Minister of Cabinet rank is necessary in States with a tribal population of over a million to provide the drive and direction ^{so} essential for progress. In Andhra Pradesh, till recently, when the Chief Minister happens to be the Minister, there is effective coordination. Till such time, the team suggests appointing a Deputy Minister to assist the Chief Minister and relieve him of the burden of routine work.

The Committee recommends that the Department of social welfare should take up an urgent study of the set up in the states dealing with the tribal programmes. Measures for streamlining of administration is suggested by appointments of officers (Andhra Pradesh), creation of an administrative set-up (Manipur), or bifurcation of posts (as in West Bengal), to ensure steady and adequate attention for tribal welfare-work. In all States with over one million tribal population, there should be a full-time Director for Tribal Welfare to be given the status of ex-officio Joint Secretary/Deputy Secretary of the Department concerned.

Another advice is that at the micro-level of the district, administrative machinery be reorganised ^{as} on this suggested by the Dhebbhar Commission viz that (i) the

District Collector should be in overall charge of developmental activities in the District and (ii) in the States having S.A.s above Collectors, there should be an officer of the states of a Commissioner with plenary powers, in overall charge of the tribal districts, subject to the condition that in regard to important questions of policy, he should consult the State Government.

An important recommendation of the Jhebbhar Commission is that contiguous^u SAs. in different districts might be formed into separate districts and an ~~unwieldy~~ large district divided into two or more separate districts, does not appear to have received the due consideration. On this pattern, reorganisation is suggested in areas of Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Kerala, Tripura and others.

On the quality and incentives of personnel, the Commission recommends that only persons with an aptitude should be posted to these areas and that officers posted in tribal areas should learn tribal languages. To make service conditions in tribal areas attractive, incentives such as special allowances, ^{ou}housing facilities, and arrangement for proper education of officer's children may be allowed.

The Shilu Ao Committee regards as unsatisfactory the system of democratic decentralisation in tribal areas, an inentable result of imposing on a primitive social organization a system that does not function with marked success even in the sophisticated plains communities. The Elwin Committee points out that reviving and strengthening ^{of} the traditional tribal ^{councils} connects can lead to more achievement than by working in rivalry to the traditional village institutions. The Committee recommends suitable amendment to the Vth Schedule of the Constitution to include in the tribals T.A.C.s, ^{tribals} who are not M.L.A.s in States having no legislative Assemblies and to provide for the establishment of TACs in U.Ts with a large tribal population. Regularity of meetings in various states is suggested and consulting them for news in tribal welfare before finalising the programmes and plans for tribal welfare Methods for their working are suggested on lines adopted in Madhya Pradesh. Frequent meetings, it is suggested, may be necessary to review in detail the performance in their respective spheres.

The Committee also recommends reconstituting the Central Coordinating Committee at an early date and the regulation of its work to make it an effective instrument the formation of Coordination Committees in the States/union

Territories is also regarded very important to ensure a proper coordination among the various Departments concerned. The Study Team also urges that in States with no Coordination Committees, a small committee of officials from the development the various departments and the T.R.I.S may be set up at the state level for coordination and effective implementation of tribal welfare programmes both in the tribal and S.As.

The setting up of the Progress, Evaluation and Coordination Cells mainly as agencies for collection of statistics *has not helped much. These* are totally ill-equipped for performance of evaluation functions involving field-studies by groups of persons well versed in various disciplines. The suggestion is that states and U.T.s with a sizeable tribal population may appoint Evaluation Committees, as in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, to assess the impact of development schemes in their areas during the three Plan periods.

The Shilu Ao Committee then comments on voluntary agencies that should have roots at the village level and not at the Block or District levels as at present the Committee states that official effort, though efficient, cannot substitute dedicated services to be rendered only by high-minded voluntary agencies. Its human touch

is what even a sympathetic official agency lacks; cautioning that great care be taken to select voluntary agencies to work in tribal areas, the Committee states that it would be politically unwise and administratively expedient to dispense with their assistance altogether. Past performance and compliance of agencies with terms and conditions of the grant should be examined while giving grants-in-aid. Periodic inspection of Tribal and Social Welfare Departments is also advised. Scarce resources of voluntary organisations warrant the giving of 50 per cent of the estimated expenditure in advance by state Governments, a practice adopted by the M.P. Government that would ensure the lack of finance not hampering progress. A further suggestion is the giving of a reasonably firm indication of forthcoming financial assistance for 2 or 3 years, so that non-official agencies may plan ahead on a long-term basis. Grants are to be given by preference to organisations willing to work for advancement of more backward and neglected tribal communities cadres of trained and devoted workers could be built to serve in a career for tribal welfare. Voluntary agencies as Bharatiya Adimati Sevak Sangh and Ramakrishna Mission may be rendered financial assistance for this purpose.

Research and Training

T.R.I.s have been generally doing useful work although tendency is to concentrate attention on academic work or on collection of/routine statistics, a world to be more appropriately levelled by the Progress, Evaluation and Coordination Cells of the State Governments. They should have the necessary expertise an various development^s disciplines. Association with their work when necessary^{is} recommended and also strengthening of the somewhat Tenuous coordination between the T.W.Ds and T.R.Is.

Appointment of wholetime officers as ^hheads of T.R.Is on the analogy of the practice followed in Bihar is recommended to ensure independent approach. These men should combine a scientific background with practical experience of tribal research and should be treated as departmental heads directly responsible to the secretary to the T.W.D. Suggestion are also made for lack of direction and absence of stimulus provided by a periodical review. The location of Research Institutes is suggested according to each Statewise Conditions. The setting up of a National Council of Tribal Research is suggested and its registration under the Registration of Societies Act to make it autonomous.

The Shilu Ao Committee comments on the constitutional provisions relating to S.T.s. The Dhebbhar Commission suggested a study of the protective legislation undertaken in pursuance of provisions of the Fifth Schedule in order to plug loopholes and make laws subserve the object in view. The Dhebbhar Commission also states that no serious attempt was made to follow this important recommendation. Also the recommendation of the Dhebbhar Commission that State Governments should pass general legislation applicable to both scheduled and non-scheduled areas for protection of tribal rights in land and forests and prevent tribal exploitation by money-lenders as the progress regarding the enactment of the general legislation has not been satisfactory.

Early steps by the Union Government are recommended to check the States tendency to reduce submission on Governor's Report on S.As to a ^emore formality. A list of points aimed at eliciting information is suggested for proper evaluation of progress drawn up and communicated to Governors for guidance in preparation of reports on administration

of S.As. The suggestion is that pending the creation of the proposed T.W.D., the subject of S.A.s may be transferred to the Department of Social Welfare dealing ~~and~~ at present with the welfare of the S.T.s.

As the tribal communities have not reached the same level of political development as general population, The study team recommends that the provision for the reservation of seats for the S.Ts in the Lok Sabha and State Legislatures may be extended by a further period of ten years.

The Shilu Ao Committee advises that separate percentage of reservation in state services should be earmarked for S.Cs and S.Ts. The need is stressed to raise the reservation quota in proportion to the tribal population in the State where it does not exist. The study team regards it as somewhat disquieting that although reservation orders are in force over 17 years, the representation of tribal communities in various Central Government services is only nominal.

The Committee recommends re-examination of the present recruit^{ment}/policy to evolve a satisfactory formula to accelerate intake of S.T. and S.C. candidates while

constituting a new service. The team advises no point in attaining snow^{ow}boiling of unfilled vacancies over an indefinite period. Freezing of vacancies is suggested at the level they stand after the two year period to be filled when qualified candidates became available. Among the measures recommended for employment regulations, the setting up in Bihar of Employment Cells is suggested as in other states/U.T.S. with a sizeable population to ensure tribal communities getting their share of employment in Government Services elsewhere.

The Report contains 23 annexures containing among others a questionnaire, several lists and relevant information, for instance General Characteristics of S.T.S.

Part IV:

Constitutional Provisions:

Recommendations:

No serious attempts have been made by the S.A.S and S.T.S. Commission to study protective legislation undertaken in pursuance of this important recommendation of the Commission. The Commission also states that

exploitation of tribals by money lenders should receive the attention it deserves and that progress of enactment of general legislation for protection of tribals in and outside S.As can be more satisfactory.

Action Initiated:

The subject of S.As continues with the Ministry of Home Affairs when the Ministry is no longer administratively concerned with it. The recommendation that provision for reservation of seats for S.T.S. should be continued till 1980 has been accepted. Increase in representation of tribal communities in state and Government of India Services which the Shilu Ao Committee considering is nominal. The T.D.B and the synthesis of this and the area approach in the 1974 policy are meant to solve partially the anomaly of S. and non-S. A.S. In Assam, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, there is a separate department *for* tribal areas. Reorganization of areas has been done and new districts have been opened in some states as in Meghalaya. In yet others, as in the Bawa Committee Report to be studied later, cooperatives have been restructured in the T.D.A. gency Areas.

Certain anomalies rectified by Central Acts and Presidential Orders relevant to S.T.S. passed during 1951 and 1968 are listed at P-166 of the Shilu Ao Committees' Report. But, no class of tribals has been descheduled as ^{more} were advanced. Neither is there any exclusion from the list of S.T.S.

The criteria regarding classification of tribes viz. education, population, sex-ratio, lit^eracy, working force, religion and language are discussed further when a reference is meant to the approach to tribal welfare of 1974. The Dhebhar Commission referred to 4 cate^agories of tribals and said how ^{one} are category did not require any special assistance'. The Shilu Ao Committee also mention how the problem of defferential development has been accen^uated within a decade. Socio-economic surveys of the tribal ^{tell} built in C. India have been conducted by the N.C.A.E.R and Bureau of Economics and statistics and the Tribal Welfare Departments in states, as in Madhya Pradesh. These reveal the defferential levels of development attained by various groups and state how every tribal group retains a certain distinctness'.

The various annexures of the Shilu Ao Committee give important physical targets achieved during the Third Five Year Plan (Centrally Sponsored Programmes) and state sectors, listing of S.T.S., work done by Tribal Research Institutes, matters having a bearing on the working of T.R.I.S, allocation of seats for S.T.S. in the House of People (Lok Sabha), for S.T.S. in the House of the People (Lok Sabha), for S.T.S. in the state Legislative Assemblies and sharing percentage of reservation prescribed for S.T.S. in State Services and these of Central Government. Representation of S.T.S. in Public Sector Undertakings as on Jan.1, 1967, and regarding reservations for S.C.S and S.T.S. in posts filled by promotion in a letter to the Home Ministry, dealing with actions taken earlier.

The Bawa Committee in 1971 has considered the problem of cooperatives for tribals after field studies in 4 districts and Appu Committee in 1971 has suggested measures for debt relief and land alienation after studying the working of T.D.A.S. in 4 states. These findings and recommendations relate to land, forests and cash economy of the tribals, and also discuss the role of cooperatives.

Drinking water has been mentioned as a priority and subsequently programmes have been drawn for supply of water to tribal areas. In health programmes also, the guidelines are to use tribal medicinemen to investigate further tribal medicines and tribal indigenous institutions to further tribal development programmes.

Observations:

As regards the setting up of a National Tribal Development Corporation and a new reapsable Tribal Development Fund, an apex body or a fund have not been created at the centre. But, as is seen later, the synthesis of the concept of the T.D.B. and the area approach was spelled out in 1974.

An important contribution of the Shilu Ao Committee is the accentration of the urgency of eliminating exploitation, controlling money-lending and restoration of tribal land. It also continues against imbalances evident in tribal development and polarisation of benefits for a few. The important role of voluntary agencies, research and training is also stressed. This plea is in order with a need-based approach aiming at self-reliance.

8. Summary Report of the Study Team on Cooperatives
in Tribal Development Projects : 1971.

The Government of India have sanctioned six projects for Tribal Development in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh - at Srikakulam, Singhbhum, Ganjam, Koraput and Bastar-I Dantewada and Bastar-II (Konta) respectively. The outlay on the core programme of economic development is Rs. 150 crores for each project for arterial roads^e. Provision of credit for various production programmes and arrangements for marketing of agricultural and forest produce on Cooperative basis are of crucial importance for economic development of tribals. The task assigned to a Study Team on Cooperative Structure in Tribal Development Project Areas* with Shri K.S. Bawa as Chairman and 4 other members, was to study the role of cooperatives in tribal areas^l. This Committee, appointed by the Government of India, in the Ministry of Agriculture submitted its report in 1973^l.

* O.M. No. F-23(16)/71 Projects dated 3-12-1971 -

Ministry of Agriculture (Department of Agriculture)

Terms of Reference:

The Terms of Reference are :

- (a) Examination of working of the Cooperative Organisations in concerned states with particular reference to the Project areas and give recommendations for strengthening their cooperative structure, and
- (b) Examination of the necessity, if any, of the setting up some specialised agencies to channelise credit to the tribals and *linking* marketing functions with it to ensure speedy and efficient implementation of tribal programmes¹.

The summary report is based on six projects based at Srikakulam, Ganjam, Koraput, Singhbhum, Dantewada and Kanta.

Objectives:

1. Spelling out its basic approach to restructuring of cooperative structure to support economic activity of tribals in Project areas;
2. Making further suggestions after studying recommendations regarding debt relief etc¹. contained in the committees' individual report

on Bastar and a copy of the Appu Committee's report on Relief of Indebtedness, Land Allotment and Restoration in T.D.A. Areas. The Report of the Appu Committee is also mentioned subsequently.

Basic Features:

There are 9 basic features of the Bawa Committee's approach to cooperative tribal development in project areas. These are :

1. Envisaging of a cooperative structure providing integrated credit and other services required by tribals to present major areas of their exploitation viz. production and consumption credits, supply of seeds and other agricultural inputs, supply of consumer goods and marketing of agricultural and minor forest produce.
2. Starting a primary society dealing with individual tribals to provide all important services required by him to avoid his approaching too many institutions for assistance. The organisations of these services can be at 'hat' or market level.
3. Pressing of suitable higher level organisations to play a supportive role and for supervision of and guidance at the primary level.

4. Setting up of new organisations only when the existing structure cannot be depended to cope with demands of an emergency situation.
5. Availability of adequate funds for supporting economic programmes for tribals in project areas and modifications of existing norms and procedures for ensuring smooth flow of funds for tribal programmes would be functions of the Reserve Bank and suitable assistance of funds from the T.D.A. to cooperatives is thought of to enable them to have access to institutional sources of finance'.
6. Avoiding exploitation by middlemen of minor forest produce, a major source of income to tribals, cooperatives having the exclusive right of collection and these also ensuring a minor forest produce collected by them.
7. A built-in system of subsidy either by the State Government or from project/funds or both is necessary to make the individual and cooperative tribal economic activities normally requiring a long gestation period viable.
8. Ensuring that benefits of schemes of T.D.A. and Government really go to deserving tribals without interception by others in the project areas'.

9. Evolving of suitable administrative arrangements for administration of, supervision over, and guidance to societies for effective implementation of various cooperative programmes in these project areas.

Recommendations for the Structural Pattern:

Recommendations are made for the structural pattern of both primary and secondary forest cooperatives:

1. At the primary level, the primary society dealing directly with individuals should provide all important services required by tribals, to be serviced by appropriate higher level functional organisations and examining of utilising expanded funds of existing primary cooperative structure in project areas, as in Srikakulam. In Bastar, an expansion of function is suggested and in projects in Bihar and Orissa, LAMPS - new large size multi-purpose societies at Block level are recommended. Their formation may mean conversion of some good societies in the field or organisation into new societies by amalgamation of good working primary societies in the area. The earlier functions would continue. This model is almost similar to that of the primary society recommended by the National

Commission in Agriculture in the Interim Report on Credit Services for Small and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers.

2. At the secondary level there are variations in the project areas suggested for cooperatives in various states. In Srikakulam, the existing Grijan Cooperative Corporation has been recommended as the focal point of development of various cooperative service societies as it has a commendable record of service to the tribals. In Madhya Pradesh, the State Level Tribal Cooperation Development became dormant because of accumulation of huge losses.

Hence, preference is indicated for Bastar, on the pattern of the institution in Srikakulam. Initially, the activities could be confined to the project areas. An alternative suggested is the preference for the above arrangements so that multi-functional primary society may be serviced by specialized institutions at the secondary and apex levels.

In Orissa i.e. Koraput and Ganjam, the Committee has suggested Supportive Services to LAMPS by Central Cooperative Banks and by the state level Tribal Cooperative Corporation. In Bihar, till support is

available, LAMPS may have to perform on their own till the State Level Corporation enters the field to operate through LAMPS.

For long term credit to tribals, it is suggested that Land Development Banks might consider operating through primary service cooperatives, Revised broad targets modifying the earlier different activities are suggested. Other suggestions are : availability of cooperative resources for loans on tribals depending on tribal population and land holdings, fixation of a scale of finance for various crops blockwise or societywise for agricultural production purposes, observance of seasonality in lending and recovering of loans. For consumption and social purposes, cash credit accomodation may be made available to tribals who should be encouraged to make payment frequent internals. For existing overdue loans, conversion is suggested of overdues outstanding for more than three years against tribal members into medium-term interest free loan repayable in five annual instalments. Consolidation as an a particular date and absorption by other tiers of remaining rates of interest are also suggested as an experimental measure to be applied, if required, in other projects.

For long-term credit to tribals, the suggestion is that Land Development Banks might consider operating through the primary service cooperatives. We have also suggested separate functional societies for dairy, pantry and animal husbandry activities in areas where there is suitable response from tribals intended to be beneficiaries and where there is accessibility to consumer centres. The Committee also spells out operations dimensions and procedures envisaging revised broad targets for different activities in these project areas as indicated in the table below.

TABLE 65

(Rs. in lakhs)

	Production & consumption credit			Marketing of Agr. and minor forest produce			Supply of inputs		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
1. Srikakulam	20	60	100	18	65	110	NA	8	20
2. Dantewada	4.37	10	50	**2.04	10	60	Negligible.	1	10
3. Konda	4.18	10	50	0.50	5	60	-do-	2	8
4. Ganjam	2	20	35	7	20	40	Nil	2	8
5. Koraput	3.3	30	50	17	35	60	x	2	10
6. Singhbhum	2.66*	25	50	0.35	20	55	1.30	10	15

A = Level of operations in 1970-71/1971-72

B = Projections for 1973-74.

C = Projections for 1978-79.

* including grain golas

** including consumer articles.

Short-term Production Credit:

For short-term production credit, agriculture as also collection of minor forest produce constitute the economic base. The Committee makes the following recommendations applicable to all project areas:

1. Need for earmarking of substantial part of resources available to a cooperative for giving loans to tribals. A bye-law should provide the giving of 60-70 percent of loans given to these societies to tribals varying according to tribal population and land holdings.
2. Fixation of scale of finance for various crops blockwise, or societywise, and
3. Observing of seasonality in lending and recovery of loans.

Consumption Credit:

Cash credit advance may be made available to tribals. In the report of Srikakulam this was fixed at Rs.50, but in the Bastar Report it was increased to Rs.100. The Committee recommends that this should be the minimum amount applicable in all project areas.

Existing Overdue Loans:

The Committee recommends that as an experimental

measure the Committees' recommendation in Bastar, as stated below, might be applied to other project areas. The recommendation was the conversion of an amount of overdues outstanding, for more than three years against tribal members to a medium term interest free loan repayable in five annual instalments. Consolidation of the amount outstanding under principal and interest may be done on a particular date. Absorption is suggested of the remaining amount of interest after the T.D.A. has provided an interest subsidy of 4-5 percent by other tiers.

Action Taken:

The committee then mentions the relief on tribal debts in the form of medium-term loans as suggested by the Appu Committee, described in detail subsequently, and the provision of a loan of Rs. 5 lakhs from its resources to Cooperative institutions at a low rate of interest.

Action Committee:

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The Secretaries Committee of 1973 made the following 3 recommendations regarding debt-relief loans:

1. Provision by Cooperative institutions to provide medium-term loans (not exceeding 5 years) to tribals to enable them to pay off their old debts.
2. Taking assistance by the Cooperative Society of the traditional village council of tribals in finding out the indebted persons.
3. Determining the quantum of tribal debts through a competent court or reliable authority.

Post-debt-relief care:

Recommendations

After providing for debt-relief, an attempt may be made to prepare suitable composite credit plans for such tribals, with a credit plan for at least one Block in each T.D.A. Project.

Marketing of minor Forest produce

A major area of exploitation for tribals is minor forest produce. Hence a central theme of the Committee's recommendation is that Adivasi cooperatives have the exclusive right of collection of minor forest produce and a reasonable price should be assured for the Adivasis.

After mentioning Srikakulam and Bastar where the committee suggests that cooperatives could be made authorised agencies for nationalised products, mention is also made by the State Government of Koraput and Ganjam that runs a scheme for purchase and sale through fair price shops (PSFS) of minor forest produce and sale of consumer articles. As per the scheme, small cash loans are given to tribals and loans are recovered in kind. The purchase rate is fixed keeping in view the prevailing market rate, royalty to be paid to the Forest Department and other expenditure like tax-payment, transport charges, octroi duty etc. The collector is the chairman for fixation of both purchase and sale prices and the committee's recommendation is that the PSFS Scheme should be handed over to the proposed T.O. Cooperative Corporation. Through opening of regional offices in project areas, it could operate through LAMPS.

The evolving of effective pricing policy is suggested for purchasing of minor forest produce to be purchased by cooperatives in the project area. The basic consideration suggested for evolving of the pricing policy for minor forest produce should be: (a) Adivasis receiving a remunerative price for the minor forest produce to be purchased by cooperatives in the project area. The basic considerations

suggested for evolving of the pricing policy for minor forest produce should be: (a) tribals receiving a remunerative price for the minor forest produce collected by them and (b) marketing of these products undertaken by cooperatives for benefits of tribals so that economic viability of these organisations is in tact.

Dairy and Poultry Activities:

The committee has suggested setting up of separate cooperatives for dairy, poultry and animal husbandry activities depending for their success on accessibility to the market.

Storage facilities:

Creation of an adequate storage capacity is suggested in the cooperative sector in project areas for marketing of minor forest and agricultural produce.

Finances:

Three main ^bportulates underlying approach to finances for cooperative programmes for tribals are:-

1. Provision of full finance to a tribal for economic programmes, and encouragement for gradual saving and investment
2. Owing to inadequacy of normal scale of assistance applicable to general cooperative schemes, an institutional approach is suggested, the economic base and low level of

economic activity cannot bear the overhead expenses of the institutions providing services to them.

3. Using as a base for assistance provided by the T.D.A. and State Governments for various schemes by way of loan, where capital contribution and subsidy for attracting institutional finance^e comes from cooperative banks, NDC etc., for financing the working capital as also block investment of these cooperatives.

4. Tribal Contribution.

A basic premise is that initially a tribal should not be expected to meet requirements of his production programme from his own resources. The subsidy made by the T.D.A. should be considered as his contribution and may provide cooperatives/the remaining amount as loan.

Assistance from T.D.A.

The commission suggests among others, the following types of assistance from the T.D.A. to the cooperative structure in the project area;

a. The T.D.A. should provide medium-term loans to Central Cooperative banks as non-due cover to ensure that overdues do not block the channel for credit to tribals. The

quantum suggested is upto a reasonable level of 25-30 per centag^e of the outstandings.

b. The T.D.A. should contribute to the risk fund of cooperatives to encourage and enable them to absorb losses in servicing tribals.

c. Providing subsidy to the extent of .5% of the cost to cooperatives for creating common facilities like godowns.

Differing rates of subsidⁱes are suggested for projects in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Eastar.

Assistance from State Government :

The Committee recommends the following assistance pattern from State Governments to cooperative institutions in project areas. In Eastar it is Rs. 5 lakhs, in Bihar it is equal to a maximum of loss sustained by them in a year, and in the Orissa, a medium term loan of Rs.5 lakhs is recommended besides Rs.2 lakhs to the Land Development Bank.

Assistance from R.B.I., N.C.D.C.

Assistance is also recommended for credit funds and marketing programmes from R.B.I., and N.C.D.C.

Administrative Arrangements:

For effective implementation of various cooperative programmes in the project areas, the importance of adequate administrative arrangements should be made. The specific

aspects considered are the following:

- a. Constitution of the board of management
- b. Chief executive and staff of cooperatives, and
- c. Arrangement for coordinating various developmental and financial activities in the project areas.

It is suggested that in Orissa, a senior officer at the State level may be the functionary. In Bihar, the collector may be the Chairman. The Managing Director is made responsible for coordination. The Committee suggests, likewise, administrative arrangements for Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

9. Report of the Appu Committee 1971.

The Government of India has set up a Central Sector Scheme in 1971 to administer which a Tribal Development Agency (T.D.A.) has been set up. During the Fourth Plan, a sum of Rs.1.50 crores on core programmes for economic development have been earmarked for projects in 6 selected areas and Rs.050 crores on communication for development of central roads. The basic objective of the projects is economic development of tribals with a view to integrate them with the rest of the community on a footing of equality, within a reasonable time. Tribals must be freed from clutches of money-lenders and other exploiting classes, the committee stated.

The Government in India in the Ministry of Agriculture constituted a study group in December 1971 with P.S. Appu as Chairman and 5 other members. The time of submission was 3 months.

Terms of Reference:

The terms of this study Group were four:

1. Considering the existing available legislation, in the concerned states, for debt redemption and land restoration and suggesting necessary modifications to make them more effective and purposeful.

2. Considering the necessity of a model bill for the concerned state governments to handle the twin problems as of above.
3. Attempting an accurate estimate of the amount required for debt redemption in the Project areas/districts and advising on the need for scaling down of debts.
4. Recommending necessary steps for having minimum land records for effective pulling through credit programmes in project areas.

A questionnaire was made for circulation to the concerned State Governments for eliciting detailed information about Debt Relief, Land alienation and ^{Land} Restoration.

Since the Bawa Committee Studies the cooperative structure in tribal areas, the Appu Committee did not go into this aspect in detail.

Debt Relief:

Findings and Recommendations:

In September 1962, a meeting of the special working groups on cooperation for Backward Classes appointed by the

ministry of Home Affairs and chaired by Bhargava indicated how the present burden of indebtedness outgrew the repaying capacity of debtors in tribal areas and seriously hampers their development. The Committee mentions the Elwin Committee's finding that the present efforts to improve the tribal's economic earning through development programmes has not improved his condition. In 1959 too, the meeting of the Board suggested the unsatisfactory progress in debt relief of Adivasis, Reiterating the previous recommendation of the Central Advisory Board for Tribal Welfare which considered the question in October 1957 recommending the writing off of debts more than 3 years old and paying up 3 years old debts after allowing interest not exceeding 6%, the Board directed that the State Government reconsider the fundamental need for tribal development programmes. The Debt Relief Legislation passed were as follows:-

1. Andhra Pradesh S.G. Debt Relief Regulation, 1970 (applicable to S.A.s) and Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Area) Agriculturists Relief Act., 1933 (in plains) project areas be both in scheduled area and in plains.
2. Bihar Money lender's (Regulation of Transactions) Act and Bihar Money lenders' Act is to regulate money-lending.

3. Bastar: Madhya Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Debt Relief Act., 1967 (Act.12 of 1967) in force in this District.
4. Orissa, Scheduled Area, Debt Relief Regulation(1968)

The Committee pointed out that Governors powers under the Fifth Schedule regulating the business of money lending were to be made in consultation with the Tribal Advisory Council and assented to by the President without coming before the State Legislature or the Parliament. Inspite of the possibility of repealing, amending the existing laws and introducing new features under these regulations, there is debt relief regulation in Andhra Pradesh only from 15.5.1960. But rules were enforced only from 1.1.1961. The Madhya Pradesh Act provides for reduction of loan principles which, if incorporated in Andhra Pradesh will be advantageous to tribals in Tribal Development Agency Areas. In Bastar, the best results of Debt Redemption Laws are seen.

Recommendations

The Appu Committee suggests that the setting up of Debt Relief Courts and appointment of Debt Relief Inspectors as in Madhya Pradesh would be a better solution

for relief of indebtedness in T.D.A areas.

Adoption of the Madhya Pradesh pattern in other project areas is suggested. A majority of the Committee also suggested that the entire area of operation of T.D. Agencies be declared as 'S.A.S.' for enforcement, to the extent possible of such legislative provisions.

Rehabilitation of the tribal is necessary after his debt relief and freedom from the clutches of the money-lender. Credit is necessary for the tribals for purposes of production, land development and even consumption to prevent tribals going to money-lenders. The Committee suggests preparation of a composite credit plan for selected educated individual tribal farmers taking into account his old debts, the outlay required for the development of the land and the short term production credit and in which loan requirements may be reflected. It suggested selection of a few farmers for financing by institutions and the looking after by T.D.A.s to look after plan-based credit needs of a tribal farmer in entirety. A survey of rural debts and investment made in 1961-1962 covered all rural householders. Earlier observations of the Elwin Committee, surveys in tribal areas by the Shilu Ao Committee 1966-1969, and a detailed study of indebtedness in the Southern Area of

Madhya Pradesh showed that 525 per cent families were ^{in debt} indebted. Hence the Committee suggests that the Bench Mark Survey being conducted in T.D.A. areas should also cover the problem of tribal indebtedness.

The T.D.A. should study the position of land records in the project areas and locate areas with out-dated records. There are two suggestions (1) An on-the-spot enquiry since survey and settlement operations take time, and (2) Updating of records within a period of 6 months. The State Government should give top priority to this item of work and appoint additional staff. Specific proposals could be put up to the Central Government for assistance, quick starting and completion of works.

The Committee also recommends allotment of land to tribals on long-term basis with certain occupational rights for procurement of long-term finance for development purposes or medium-term agricultural loans, and providing legislative protection to assignees of land.

Land Alienation.

Bihar State has comprehensive provisions for prohibiting transfer of tribal land under the Chota-Nagpur Tenancy Act and Bihar Scheduled Areas Regulations, and vesting in competing authorities to restore transferred land back to tribals. Amendments are also provided for viz to enable scrutiny of 30 year old alienations.

The Law of Limitations permits scrutiny^y of alienations^e upto 30 years. Tribals have also been provided necessary exemptions to obtain loans from financing institutions, cooperatives etc. by simple mortgage of lands. Similar legislation by other States is suggested.

Facilities to tribals are stressed by way of provision of medium-term loans to tribals and a provision for financing the institution, especially the land development banks to provide loans at reasonable rates of interest. In some States legislation exists debarring lawyers from appearing in Revenue Courts and the recommendation is that similar legislations be provided for including legislation of all concerned States.

Early steps are suggested for providing relief to tribals in matters of land alienation and debt. The Committee notes ditatory litigation and implementation of laws in this respect. The invoking of article 310 of the Constitution is suggested. Complete exclusion jurisdiction^f of ordinary civil courts is advocated in matters relating to implementation of laws protecting tribal interests.

In sum, the Appu Committee has suggested measures to provide succour to indebted tribals by scaling down of debts, making loans and land available and providing them with adequate and timely institutional support.

Action Taken:

The sanctioning Committee considered the Reports of the Bawa and Appu Committees.

The recommendations were generally accepted and commended to the State Governments concerned with suitable modifications to suit local conditions. The question of declaration of the entire T.D.A. Project area as 'Scheduled' or not is left to the examination of respective State Governments and leaving to their discretion the initiation of appropriate proposals.

Observations

The Bawa and Appu Committees have made pragmatic and region-specific suggestions regarding land matters for tribals, availability of money for them and their rehabilitation, in tune with the object of eliminating exploitation. This is a matter of priority stressed early by the Kilwin Committee. Further, the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission regarding S.A.S were not accepted wholly but the setting up of T.D.A.s has partially started solved the problem.

BASIC POLICY PAPERS: 1974 Volumes I & II

The new approach to the tribal problem is presented in the Basic Policy Papers of 1974: The Shilu⁹ Ao Committee observed that (i) The T.D.B. was too small a unit for planning and execution of long-term developmental programmes (ii) The development effort from the general sector programmes were inadequate particularly in areas with a comparatively poor economic base. This necessitated the evolving of a new tribal development strategy that was not sectoral and in which economic viability^b of the area and identification of its resources were of vital concern.

An informal Expert Committee on Tribal Development appointed by the Education Minister and chaired by B.R. Patel suggested after a comprehensive study the following.

- a. A precise definition of the total developmental effort at the national level.
- b. An integrated area plan at an appropriate level comprising all developmental inputs with focus on the problem of tribal communities, and
- c. A suitable simple administrative and personnel structure within the comprehension of the tribal people.

* 'Tribal Development in the fifth plan' of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, Volume I & II.

I. The Planning Commission also appointed a Task Force chaired by L.P. Vidyarthi on Development of Backward Classes which considered the tribal problem in its totality.**

To facilitate working of the Task Force, the Planning Commission constituted 5 Working Groups on the following subjects (i) Working Group on Identification of T.D. Areas and less developed tribal communities (Chairman- Prof. L.P. Vidyarthi).

(ii) Working Group on Legislative and Administrative set-up (Chairman-Dr. B.K. Roy Burman)

(iii) Working Group on Tribal Development Programmes based on forests (Chairman-(Shri S.A. Shah).

(iv) Working Group on General and Area-wise Programmes of Infra-structure and social Services in Tribal Areas (Chairman-(Shri) K.V. Natarajan).

(v) Personnel Policy in Tribal Areas (Chairman - R.N. Haldipar).

Volume I

This volume contains 9 sections and an Annexure of a note on the preparation of sub-plans for tribal regions and on the preparation of I.T.D.P.s. Its contents are as below:

** The Original list of members is at Annexure I and the revised list is at Annexure II (Volume I).

Sections:

I. A Note on the Preparation of Sub-Plan for Tribal Regions within the State Plan - Guidelines issued by the Planning Commission.

II. A Note on the Preparation Integrated Tribal Development Projects - Guidelines issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

III, IV, V. Reports of the Expert Committee on Tribal Development, the task force on Development of Tribal Areas and of the Working Group on Personnel Policy for Tribal Areas.

VI, VII. Reports of the Bawa and Appu Committees mentioned earlier in this study.

VIII. Background papers on Excise Policy

IX Extract from the Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Central Prohibition Committee.

In addition, there are Annexures of a Note on the Preparation of Sub-Plans for Tribal Regions and Tables of a Note on the Preparation of Integrated Tribal Development Projects:

Volume II

This contains the following three sections:

Section I: Central Coordination Committee for Development
of Backward Classes: Selected Papers.

Section II: Formulation of I.T.D.P.s.

Section III: Research and Statistical base for the New
Strategy of Tribal Development.

A gist is given in brief as below:

II. A Note on the Preparation of Sub-Plan for Tribal
Regions within the State: Guidelines issued by the
Planning Commission.

Introduction:

From the area-specific problems of each identifiable
tribal group focussed upon in the Vth Five Year Plan
there emerges a clearer perspective for the course of
Tribal Development. The situational variation in tribal
regions of concentration and dispersed populations
necessitate different approaches. The approach of the
sub-plan is an area development approach focussing on
tribal problems. It is intended to present an integrated
^{view} ~~new~~ of their problems, the broad objectives and strategies,
an outline of the various programmes, physical inputs,
financial outlays, legislative and administrative frame.

All activities of government and semi-government organisations, financing and credit institutions and special sectoral programmes may be fully integrated in the sub-plan which should present a total picture of the development of the region. It is stated that while the entire tribal population will be covered by the above-two categories, certain extremely backward isolated smaller groups within areas of tribal concentration and outside, whose survival is at stake would require special categorization and for this special group-oriented programmes could be formulated.

Objectives

The long-term objectives of the sub-plan are:

(i) To narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas; and

(ii) To improve the quality of life of the tribal communities. Among the immediate objectives, the following 4 are mentioned:

(i) Elimination of exploitation in all forms.

(ii) Speeding up the processes for social and economic

development (iii) Building up inner strength of the people,

and (iv) Improving their organisational capabilities.

General Strategy

The focus of ^{the} new strategy, framed within the parameters of immensity of task and constraint of resources is on the welfare and development of the people. Urgency of Problems such as prevention of exploitation, development of tribal economy and generation of employment opportunities is stressed. Provision is for development, on a priority basis, of basic ^ainfrastructure - legal, institutional and physical. In view of the special conditions of the tribal areas, planning is suggested in an integrated fashion of growth centres, communication network, schools, rural health centres, marketing and credit organisations, rural electrification, manpower resources and training.

As the sub-plan will focus its attention on the welfare and development of the people, special attention is pleaded for areas and groups facing special problems. Identification would be needed of primitive tribal groups in extremely backward ^apockets, shifting cultivators, tribals affected by major projects and tribal communities who have not ^{en}received development benefits.

Preparation of Sub-Plans

Preparation of the sub-plan will involve the following steps:

- (i) Identification and demarcation of areas ^{of} tribal concentration.
- (ii) Identification socio-cultural barriers and

(iii) Assessment of potentialities, special problems and felt needs of areas.

(iv) Assessing the resource availability for the sub-plans;

(v) Formulation of Sectoral programmes; and

(vi) Devising a suitable administrative set-up.

Identification and demarcation of areas of tribal concentration i.e. 50+ percent, in addition to S.A.C., will be the baseline for suitably carving out areas at macro, meso and micro levels. The suggestion is that delineations may be based on various considerations as natural resources, physical features, level of development of the tribes inhabiting the region, and other socio-economic considerations.

In the identification of socio-cultural barriers and promoters of change and development, a clear picture of the following aspect is considered useful.

(a) The socio-cultural characteristics of the tribal communities,

(b) ⁴Nature of the physio-geographical conditions,

(c) Level of development of tribal area in general and of the tribal people in particular.

- (d) The pattern and practice pertaining to various production activities of the tribal and non-tribal people.
- (e) Pattern of ownership of means of production, and
- (f) Legal framework particularly in respect of land ownership, land tenure and transfer.

Stress is laid on identifying problems of the people arising in the wake of modernisation-other things suggested are: (i) Assessment of potentialities, special problems and felt needs of the tribal area assessing the resource ^aavailability for the sub-plan, ^fformulation of detailed programmes at the project level after review of programmes by sectoral authorities, agriculture and allied activities irrigation and power, small-scale^e and household industries, heavy industries and mining, minimum needs and allied Sectoral Programmes in which special attention is called for communication, education, health services, rural water supply and a suitable administrative set-up. Programmes are categorised into core and other and the 12 core programmes mentioned are:

- (i) Credit and marketing including regulation of tribal markets and money-lending;
- (ii) Preparation of land records including restoration of land alienated^{ion}

- (iii) Crop husbandry, agricultural extension, training of farmers and horticulture.
- (iv) Minor and medium irrigation programmes;
- (v) Forest based programmes problems of forest villagers and forest labourers.
- (vi) The problem of special groups including shifting cultivators, extremely backward communities and those affected by major projects.
- (vii) Primary road net work linking important markets and growth centres.
- (viii) Problems of tribal artisans facing competition from organised sector.
- (ix) Elementary education including citizen education.
- (x) Rationalisation of administrative structure and personnel policies.
- (xi) Strengthening of traditional panchayats and voluntary organisations and
- (xii) Techno-economic survey and evaluation studies.

Suggesting a data base for the sub-plan, it is stated that an attempt has to be made to prepare the sub-plan with the data readily available, or can be made available within the time-limit. Simultaneous steps

are also suggested to collect data for project formulation. A set of tables is given in the annexures of the report to provide the minimum data-base for the sub-plan. Among the constraints ^{the following} are pointed out the following-financial outlay, personnel, institutional frame and identification and formulation of needs and area and people-specific programmes. Planning of project preparation is suggested as a phased programme. The areas with higher tribal concentration are to precede those with lower concentration in the programme of project formulation.

III. A Note on the preparation of Integrated Tribal Development Projects.

Introduction

The Planning Commission has given some suggestions regarding preparation of sub-plans for areas of tribal concentration in their note of December 1973. The presentation of sub-plans to the Planning Commission was by mid-January 1974. The above note of the Planning Commission envisages that the sub-plan area in each state will comprise a number of viable project areas. For each project an integrated area development programme focussing attention on the specific problems of the area and the people in that region will be formulated. Preparation of sub-plan and

project formulation will be two district^{hc} exercises, although preliminary steps for preparation of projects will have to be taken concurrently.

Selection of Project Area and its Geographical Boundaries

The first exercise for states is the tentative demarcation of tribal and project areas in the sub-plans till the Government of India agrees. Owing to the clear guidelines, a difference of opinion will arise only in marginal cases regarding inclusion or exclusion of a specific area. Hence, the certainty is of preparation of one project in each macro-region. The existing block is to be the lowest unit of administration without the present schematic budget. Perhaps, at the stage of detailed project formulation, block boundaries drawn in early 60s need a second look. Our present standing on a new waters had perhaps indicates a change. While delineating the project area it will be necessary to take into account the physical features, the level of development of different tribal communities and the areal natural resources.

Policy Frame:

Reviewing of the legal, administrative and institutional frame, as also inter-sectoral and infra-sectoral priorities is expected in the sub-plan, keeping the primary focus on the welfare and development of the people. The policy frame will contain general enunciation but its touch-stone

will be its articulation in terms of concrete programmes and administrative action as per a well-drawn schedule at the project level.

The problem of the tribal people in the project area, which will be the operational level for planning and execution purposes, must be presented in its entirety. This will necessitate putting together all the oral and documented information. As such the preparation of projects will be a rather detailed exercise and will require some more data base than stipulated for the sub-plan.

Special Sub-regions:

The differential level of development among areas and communities is to be indicated and 4 points as mentioned below ^{are} to be considered specifically.

- (a) Isolated small groups at pre-agricultural technological level.
- (b) Zones of influence of big mining or industrial enterprise.
- (c) Hinterland of a big urban centre; and
- (d) A ^Δ sparsely populated forest sub-region.

Regions with a mixed character, a class by themselves and illustrative in character may be carved out as ^{requiring} special

attention.

Linkages with other Areas:

Identifying linkages of the local economy with ^{on} surrounding regions ^{before} formulation is considered. Programme formulation may be realistic only after clear identification of the interdependence.

Preliminary Steps

In order to evoke response of the tribal communities to the new effort, the following steps are suggested:

1. Clear statement of terms and conditions of some programmes.
2. Coordination of the developmental effort in tribal areas.
3. A realistic appraisal of the actual use of organizations and personnel, and
4. Assessment of the total number of personnel working under various organizations, government, semi-government and cooperative.

Identification of the Central Problem and core sector of Department:

Identification of this following complementary aspects basic to the project (1) The Central problems of the region and (2) The Core sector of development with reference to the resource potential of the region.

Central problems of the Region

- (a) Land alienation
- (b) Bonded labour
- (c) Indebtedness
- (d) Sale of agricultural and minor forest produce, and
- (e) Supply of essential consumer commodities.

Land Alienation

The criterion for according permission regarding transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals or sometimes banning all transfers unless permitted by an appropriate authority may be studied. Also, practices have the effect of circumventing the law such as the following:

- (a) Benami transactions in the name of servants who may be tribals
- (b) Transfer or actual possession of land without any paper record.
- (c) Owner himself cultivating the land, as a crop-sharer *in lieu of loan.*

lieu of loan, or (d) Transfers in the name of concubines who may have been enticed for facilitating the transfer and ownership of property. Other problems with reference to ownership of land to be noted are:

- (a) Unrecorded sub-tenancy on the lands of absentee landlords and ex-zamindars.
- (b) Cultivation of revenue lands for long without patta; and
- (c) Cultivation of forest land without any formal record of rights.

The next question will be to examine the present state of land records.

Bonded labour

Although bondage in labour may be abolished by law, in some areas, it may be in vogue in one form or another, and enable eradication of bonded labour by the end of the Fifth Plan.

Marketing:

In order to end numerous malpractices in the marketing of agricultural and minor forest produce, documentation is considered necessary. Board assessment may be made of the actual marketable surplus in various agricultural commodities,

and examination in respect of minor forest produce. Formal regulation of the weekly market, a centre of economic activity in the tribal areas is considered ~~an~~^either possible nor desirable. But checking the malpractices is possible. One way is to fix the price of essential commodities for a year. Regulation is also required of trade in ornaments, especially since practices such as Dharam Kanta are taken advantage of by spurious men. Even use of traditional weights and measures needs to be regulated. Despite the ban, these are in existence. Relaxation may be given for continuing use of traditional measures for a period of 5 to 10 years. Sale of spurious goods is also to be curbed.

Indebtedness :

The problem of indebtedness will need special attention. A number of laws to^d~~x~~ have been passed to scale down the debts. However, in the absence of an alternative line of credit for non-production and social purposes, money-lending flourishes. In many areas, institutions as the 'Kangal Bank' have sprung and interest charged varies from 300 to 400 per cent. To check these usurious practices, suitable regulations are necessary. Association of the community is also necessary so that

there is no possibility of misuse of the new flour of funds. Earlier Committees and Commissions have stressed this and the ^{Appu}Committee ^{re-}stressed this in 1971.

Excise Policy

The excise policy for tribal areas is being formulated at the national level. The policy frame for the state will be laid down as part of the sub-plan. In ^oorder that this policy is reflected in the plan of the project as well, the existing system of exercise in the area and revenue therefrom may be noted.

Forest Policy :

The forestry programmes will be crucial for development of the tribal economy in many areas. While basic policy question will be settled in the sub-plan itself, necessary follow up action will have to be taken at the project level. There should be identification of forest resources both under the direct control of the Forest Department and otherwise. There should be review of forestry programmes in the context of its impact on the tribal economy, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh have their cooperatives and corporations respectively and these have to be reviewed.

Man-made forestry would require great caution and people have to be taken in confidence. In some areas, plantation of exotic varieties have disturbed the local economy. Tribals have been deprived of the right to collection of minor forest produce. New difficulties may arise, for instance, difficulties in getting required *nistar* facilities for grazing and domestic purposes.

In the forest rich regions, the visualisation is for a forest based economy for a group of villages. Suitable horticultural programmes, plantations and a complementary small scale or medium industry may be included. Two basic urges of the individual need to be answered - ownership of property and an assured future. Formal concurrence of the people in tribal villages is necessary. Separate discussion in detail is necessary of forest villages and of the problem of forest labourers. Benefits due to organised labour in other sectors should also be made available to the forest labourers.

Core Sector of Development

In the core sector of development for the project, the three necessary references are (a) The resource potential of the area (b) The technological skills of

the local population, and (c) The ~~tax~~ likely benefits accruing to the tribal communities.

The I.T.D.P will be area development programme but with special concern for the development of the people. The emphasis is on specificity of needs, people and area.

Among the preliminary steps mentioned are the following:- 1. Review of procedures to ensure that administrative structure is within the comprehension of the tribals and also the intra-organizational roles. The unified administrative structure is expected to solve this problem. But, accountability is necessary so that the project or some other authority must accept residual responsibility for resultant commitments owing to non-coordinated action by the different wings of government and semi-government organizations. Principle of subsidy is also stressed.

Mentioning the wide coverage of programmes; the weak group and common tribal as target is emphasized in formulation of the projects. Elucidating the difference between the starting point and coverage, and cautioning against prestigious^u programmes of thousands of rupees per family, the team states that there would be a limited

coverage that would not satisfy this basic criterion. In view of the universal coverage, recasting of priorities and evolving of an alternative approach becomes necessary.

Agricultural Programmes

For agricultural programmes, the first task is to bring to bear on the problems of the local area the lessons from success and failure stories after studying ~~and~~ local agricultural practices. While prescribing practices or crops suitable for more advanced areas, local efforts have to be studied for instance, in many areas, the tribal exhibits great skill of training steep valleys by a network of small fields, allowing for the water to skill gradually from the higher fields to the lower. In the lower fields his strength may fail because of enormity of the earth work and inadequacy of traditional methods. Hence, improvement with small cost benefitting a large area may be enough. Replacement of his method by a regular irrigation scheme with heavy investments may not be necessary. Adoption of an intermediary stage in the ⁶crucial stages may be useful instead of jumping from a very low level of technology to that of hybrid seeds. The tribal may be familiar with this through his contacts with the neighbouring areas. The first stage is⁶ to put the

existing works in good shape. Careful documentation of benefits accruing to the tribal communities from the natural and traditional sources is necessary. If improvement of a natural and traditional irrigation source is there and there is more than ^{one} proportionate burden on the beneficiaries, the whole developmental work may be ^{em} suspect. ^{levy} Long of additional irrigation rates should be only on those getting additional benefits from improvement. Total irrigation in many tribal areas is less than 10% and they are not aware of its benefits. Putting in the additional labour inputs in the more intensive methods of agriculture going with irrigation will take time. Irrigation long might be imposed only after 5 years and treatment on par with the entire tribal area may not be required. If 5 to 10% of the tribal land is irrigated, tribals can be taken to be aware of benefits of irrigation. In other cases irrigation facilities must be considered initially as extension activity. The rigidity of earlier programmes of land reclamation and setting up colonies has limited success and ignores the local social, psychological and economic ^a aspects. Increasing association of the tribal with the programmes and processes of land development and reclamation and flexibility in schemes is recommended. Further, priorities of planners and not of people is reflected in

the schematic pattern. A bare minimum assistance is recommended so that accrual of benefits may be for a large number of people. Essential items ought to get a ^{wide} under coverage. Traditions and prejudices of the local community by way of food taboos or colour of pigs or birds in a locality or preference for a particular variety should be noted in planning animal husbandry, piggery and poultry programme. Marketing should not be an overconcern. The problem of shifting cultivation is to be viewed in its totality. Adjustment to a new technology takes time and by selecting a ~~x~~ viable familial group of families for a plantation with permanent interest and preparation of separate projects for these group, the introduction of settled cultivation could be introduced.

By sending selected officers to these areas who could ^{become} ~~against~~ acquaint themselves with local dialects and customs, one major problem of communication gap between extension agency and the tribal people may be bridged. Training of husband-wife teams is recommended.

Cooperation

Redesigning of the administrative structure on the lines of recommendations of the Bawa Committee LAMPS- is

suggested. Immediate^c of implementation in medium and major irrigation works would not lead to their being operationalised during the Fifth Five Year Plan period. But, urgent identification of medium irrigation schemes in the project area and provision for survey and project formulation would help as a data base. Although major irrigation schemes are not included within the project area or outside with their likely benefits or adverse effects on the tribal economy, suitable programmes may be drawn up for both.

Irrigation and Power:

Although medium and major irrigation works are taken up with immediate^{ac}, these will not be operational during the Fifth Five Year Plan Period. But urgent identification is suggested in the project area and also provision for survey and project formulation. Major irrigation schemes should not be included in the I.T.D. Project. But, the committee advises that two types of suitable programmes should be drawn up: of major irrigation schemes within the project area and outside, with likely benefits or adverse effects on the tribal economy.

The Committee recommends a new approach in place of the traditional approach of giving compensation for rehabilitating tribals uprooted by major projects. In the

new approach, the project is to take care of the total problem of rehabilitation of the affected tribals. Into the irrigation project programme, all aspects of the problem such as the psychological aspects have also to be considered. And the definition of the role of the tribal development agency is also to be defined.

Careful Planning^{of} the rural electrification programme is also suggested to check the process of exploitation in order to provide a more congenial living condition to the stronger groups. In these areas, first priority is to be given to electricity for irrigation purposes. A number of measures are suggested to help join the group of artisans into the modern small industrial activity in order to become the bridge between the modern and the primitive. An outline of the project giving the essential tie up is being proposed in the area.

Communications:

In preparing the plan for communication, presentation on a map of the existing communications system is suggested as the first exercise, and ^{the} marking of the weekly market and growth centres. Construction of wooden bridges is suggested so that the local know-how may serve

for the next 5 to 10 years. Even in the planning of a bridge, the choice will be between flush-cause way, submersible bridge or a non-submersible bridge.

Identification of these and similar elements are suggested so that there may be benefit to the region and agricultural extension can be taken to the ⁱⁿterior areas.

Education

Assessment of the enrolment level in various parts of the project area is suggested and also the use of a block or a small geographical unit for the purpose for fulfilment of the target for primary education at the village level. The inavailability of even primary schools ^{distances} for long/in some areas is pointed out and the planning is suggested of a net-work of ashram schools. The Committee suggests that the ashram and primary schools together should generally take care of the entire child population in 6-11 age group. Steps are suggested to ensure that benefits go to the target group. The target is that by 1981, all children upto the age of 14 have to be ~~provided~~ provided educational facilities. Hence removal of existing disparities and phasing of the middle school programme is suggested. ^{Provision} ~~Derision~~ of hostel facilities in sparse localities is also suggested. Girls' education

is to be paid special attention and also assistance for education programmes. Level of backwardness of the area is to be the main criterion in suggestion of programmes. Preparation of suitable literature in dialects is also recommended, for programmes for special citizen education programmes. In view of the increased tempo of socio-economic development; the idea is to explain the nature of the new socio-economic processes to the tribal. Provision should be made in the project for a general awareness of the nature of the new social and administrative structure slowly substituting, the traditional structure. And the most relevant age-groups for citizens education is 14-25. Utilisation of leadership of the existing strong tribal youth organisation is suggested for promoting citizen education particularly in the more remote and sparsely populated areas. Integration of pre-primary and primary is suggested. Recruiting of husband-wife teams for these institutions is suggested and this is expected to help the situation in a number of ways. Social acceptance of the teacher with a family, a greater communication between the community and the teacher, and getting a lady teacher for the preprimary section are some of the advantages.

Synchronising of vacation with the agricultural season, consideration of morning and evening schools in some areas is suggested. Fluctuation of migrant labour and suitable facilities to the teacher and planning with care the school building, laboratories and teachers' quarters

Planning school building, laboratories and teachers' quarters with *care* is suggested. The committee also points out that progress regarding tribal dialects is uneven although the constitution provides that arrangement shall be made for elementary education in the mother tongue of the child. The Committee suggests that there may be preparation of suitable programmes for introducing teaching through local dialects upto class II for these groups and areas. Books have not been prepared and teachers do not know the dialects. In view of the changing situation in some areas because of their being opened up and educational effect in regional language, introducing local dialects as medium of instructions at this stage may not be necessary.

Health Services:

The review of health services from the following 4 points is suggested:

Geographical distribution of *the following:-*

- 1) Curative units including PHC (Primary Health Centres), allopathic and Ayurvedic dispensaries.
- ii) Institutions like subsidiary health centres.
- iii) Indoor facilities; and
- iv) Provision of higher level medical expertise.

The Committee mentions the CARE and Integrated Child Care Programmes. The tendency to locate centres in more accessible areas denying benefits to more backward regions is also stressed. The unsuitability of any standard pattern for tribal areas is also suggested and the suitable adoption of the Integrated Child Care Programme. For sparsely populated areas, special administrative arrangements are suggested and also avoiding procedural complexity.

Rural Water Supply

The review of the problem of rural water supply in a new fashion is suggested. The basic unit of planning is important and data is to be prepared for the problem of each hamlet.

Industries

Small-Scale and House-hold:

Assessment is necessary of

- 1) Available^{ble} technical skills amongst the people, and

11) The raw material base.

Exporting of vast natural resources in tribal areas as raw material is suggested and also the increases of the share of semi-processed and processed goods. Upgrading of primitive technologies as ghanies, unknown in some areas, may be studied. Groups such as tribal craftsmen are potential links between. The modern and the traditional. As such, programmes for these groups are crucial as a general spread-effect through these groups on the tribal communities can be expected. Formulation of the general small scale industries programme and accrual of ^hbenefits to educated groups of tribal communities is also to be studied, and marketing of handicrafts and local products.

Heavy Industries and Mines.

Since by its very nature the I.T.D. P. is not in a position to counter the influences of the big industries as also the areas of likely establishment of other major industries that are being established in the such industrial and mineral resources being established increasingly in the tribal areas with rich industrial and mineral resources, identification of two types of zones is suggested:

(3) Identification of Zones of Influences of existing industries and (2) Areas of likely establishment of other major industries.

Two district approaches are suggested. (1) A comprehensive programme for the areas of influence of existing industries to be separately prepared in which there is need for definition of role of the tribal development project. Assumption by the industrial unit is necessary for the area of its influence and evolving a total perspective for regional development.

In the case of new undertakings, 4 districtⁱⁿ stages to be taken care of are:

(i) A preview of likely displacement of individual by the establishment of new industries.

(ii) Drawing up ^c schemes for interim relief of displaced persons and adequate programming to synchronise with the actual displacement.

(iii) An alternative means of livelihood on permanent basis for individuals directly displaced and indirectly affected in the zone of influence; and

(iv) Planning for integration of these groups and others living in the zone of influence with industrial economy and its subsidiary activities:

Other suggestions are for review of the following:

- (i) Policy in respect of employment in the secondary activities in and around the industrial complex, benefits accruing the local tribal community^u from the various modern activities in the private and public sectors, communications network, and identification of the mineral potential at the area.

Law and Order Administration:

Special problems of the particular area regarding law and order administration are to be brought out.

One reason for the law and order machinery in the tribal areas, in its dealing with more articulate groups is its ignorance about the modern administrative process and the absence of any formal or informal jurisdiction of the traditional or local panchayats on the other groups residing in the area.

In the maintenance of law and order, communications are important and telegraphs, telephones are necessary.

Working out is necessary of the communications net-work in the area. The with drawing of postal services from the area within the past 5 years may be noted.

Administrative structure for the Tribal Areas

The administrative structure of the project should be worked out on the line^Δ suggested by the working group on Personnel Policies appointed by the Planning Commission. The report of this Group has been mentioned later in the present study. Subsuming within the Project itself of the entire developmental structure in the project area is suggested and it need not mean the losing by all organisations of their identity. The complimentary role of a partner is suggested for total developmental effort of the area. An important aspect is the extent of specialization necessary in the project area. It is suggested that specialization should be a function of the level of economic activity in any area. Centralised administration is suggested for engineering, agriculture and medical branches which may be place^d under one officer. This is expected to upgrade the level of expert services available to the areas. For, need for option^mal utilization of available man power in tribal areas is urgent. There must be elimination of under utilization or seasonal employment of employees of a government or a semi-government organization. Review of the extension service structure at field level is also

suggested, as also a wider geographical spread of higher level services. A review of village or patwari circle is suggested. As units of Planning these are historical accidents and as such, not significant in tribal areas. Hence it is suggested that the hamlet should be taken as a unit of planning and the basic element in determining this jurisdiction. At this micro unit, the number of families suggested is 500 and number of hamlets not exceeding ¹⁵12. The number of branches of the cooperative society in each gram sevak circle would vary with ^{the} developmental level ^{the} suggestion is ^o for service centres or growth points.

It is suggested that a group of gram sevak circles be beneficiaries of a higher level of extension and social services which could be organised with the market place of the area as the centre, or in areas lacking even weekly market facilities, around a growth centre. The aim of the plan should be that the community in the group of hamlets is not required to go beyond this point for its needs. Hence, bigger branch of cooperative and marketing society is suggested. At this macro level loans could be made available and agricultural inputs and essential consumer commodities may be supplied through the branch. This macro-unit could also function as a collection of agricultural and minor forest produce,

a small health unit and a middle or high school to form the nucleus^A of social services. This chief activity of the area and level of officers posted ~~should~~^{should} head the multifunctional team which should jointly endeavour for all round area development and answer all problems. It is suggested that while details of the new structure would vary according to state-wise conditions, there should be coordination and integration at the project level of the three main channels of administration viz. (a) general administration (b) developmental administration and (c) cooperative and marketing.

Review of the personnel policies in tribal areas is also suggested and procedural screening to ensure availability of qualified and interested personnel in adequate numbers to work in tribal areas.

Voluntary Organizations

The Report also states that a clear definition is necessary of the role of voluntary organizations in the developmental effort in the project area. A full stock of existing voluntary activity in the region should be taken including activities formally aided or unaided

by government will help in identifying with precision the future five year role of voluntary organisations. A pioneering role is played in educational field by many organizations. Normal programmes could take care of boy's education which has caught on voluntary organizations should concentrate on women's education and play a complementary role in the delicate handling of the more backward communities.

Formal for Project Formulation Maps and Tables

There are six maps and tables in the two-part preparation of the Project. The maps show topography, elevation, rivers, forest and rainfall agricultural and forestry maps, educational and health maps, administrative and infra-structure maps, irrigation and power maps .

Volume I also contains 5 Reports of which two Reports- one of the study team on cooperatives in Tribal Development Projects, and the other of the Study Team on Relief of Indebtedness, Land Alienation and Restoration in Tribal Development Agency Area have been ^{mentioned} earlier in this study. The summary of the other three Reports viz. The Report of the Expert Committee on Tribal Development, the Report of the Task Force on Development of Tribal Areas and the Report of the working group on Personnel Policy for Tribal Areas is given below.

IV

III. REPORT OF THE EXPERT COMMITTEE ON TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

The Expert Committee, informally constituted by the Education Minister and chaired by Dr. Kumar Suresh Singh had two other members. Dr. B.D. Sharma was the convenor. The Report was submitted in October 1972. The Committee indicated the following six steps.

- i) A concrete review of the present tribal situation.
- ii) Definition of the strategy of tribal development in the light of past experience.
- iii) Determining the total national effort for tribal development with three things in view-the tasks to be accomplished, the overall resource position for the Fifth Five Year Plan, and fixing both long-term and for the Fifth Five Year Plan (iv) Reappraisal of national policies in areas affecting tribal life-forests, industries, mining, excise administration and so on to further tribal development.
- v) Outlining, priority-wise, an integrated development programme.
- vi) Strengthening and streamlining administration in tribal areas.

A Review of the Tribal Situation

The Dhebhar Commission^{Shou} concluded that tribal development plans have left a mixed impression on the minds of people is mentioned. Quantification of the progress made is difficult owing to inadequacy of systematic studies. Some of the plaguing the tribal areas are pointed out as to loss of land, heavy indebtedness, using of many lenders, contractors, tractors and the system of bonded labour prevailing in certain areas. But they had hoped that the community development and Panchayati Raj programmes would further the vast and complex problem of human emancipation. In 1969, the Shilu Ao Committee stated that while there was a consensus regarding improvement of position of the tribals due to inavailability of concrete data, a clear verdict on the extent of progress could not be given. It could not be stated whether the progress was appreciable or marginal. The Committee also mentions the continuous review of the commissioner for S.C.S and S.T.s and the latest Report of 1969-1970 which, in a pointed manner mentioned the ill effects of the confrontation of diverse economies resultant upon the opening of the tribal areas. Tribals at a primitive stage needed urgent attention.

The level of overall tribal development during the last 25 years cannot be assessed as there is no systematic survey. Economic indicators from isolated studies indicate only the broad dimensions of the tribal problem. Tribal groups at the food-gathering stage and persistence of shifting cultivation in large areas are mentioned. Other things pointed ^{out} are: marginality of tribal lands, insignificant capital inputs, irrigation that is less than one per cent as against 210% national average, literacy below 2%, health facilities not reaching many areas, aggravation of the process of exploitation and widening of the gulf between the economic level of tribal areas and the national level. In the Fourth Five Year Plan, (1968-1969) the per capita national income was given as Rs.546 and per capita consumption as Rs.488. In some tribal areas, the per capita income was as low as Rs.132 - while the level of consumption of the last 10% of the rural population is less than 35% of the general level consumption, some tribal communities are below even 35% ^{live}. There has been an adverse movement during the last decade in the per capita income of some tribal communities vis-a-vis the national income.

The team states that Rs.180 crores have been spent in the Four Five Year Plans in the Central Sector on tribal

development. While in certain cases, the state sector has earmarked resources for tribal areas, general sector resources have not flown to these areas. The integrated development approach was implemented, on pilot project basis only towards the middle of the Fourth Five Year Plan. Continuity of tribal development activities according to the old pattern with little appreciable impact has left a task that is ^mcompelling and hence, all the ^omore challenging.

A strategy for Tribal Development

The Committee states that a fresh look is necessary in view of the laudable objective but poor performance. The committee calls for definition of the national effort in concrete terms and for purposive leadership at a national level for tribal development to be treated as an integral part of social and economic development.

Maintenance of the tempo is pleaded for by the Team and full coordination by a central organisation with adequate authority. In view of the fact that tribal development is urgent and has a multi-organisational character, according to a high priority may prevent shortfall in one programme and effect the entire scheme. A clear indication is also called for the share of the centre and the state after breaking it up in constituent parts. Definite indicators will have to

be developed where adequate central assistance may be necessary in case of certain states. A review ~~is suggested~~ of high level policies is also suggested. For purposes of development, individual welfare approach and schematic block development are considered inappropriate. An integrated development and region and group-specific tribal approach is suggested. In effect, plans of the tribal majority states in the North-East that are compact and viable units, require no separate area development plans for tribals. The Central Government also underwrites financial commitments of these states.

In the rest of the states, the Commission suggests the continuing of the existing T.D. Block as the micro-unit. Identification of growth centres as nodal points for economic development is envisaged. Above the T.D. Block, a two-tier planning and implementation superstructure is envisaged and for purposes of planning and execution grouping of the T.D. Blocks into compact units at the micro-level is suggested on the basis of physical features, natural resources, ethnic composition developmental level and other related factors. This movement is planned for 3 lakhs

and is not to cut across revenue district boundary. The macro-unit of Development Regions is suggested for Development Project Groups with a target population of 15 lakhs, and covering more than one district. A Regional Development Authority may be placed in charge for planning and implementation. The area development outlined above will have to be taken up as a phased programme to cover the entire tribal area by the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan. The new plans must focus on development of the people. The highest priority is recommended for programmes to minimize exploitation as in the fields of marketing, credit, supply of consumer goods and ~~an~~ informal rationing ensuring commodities at reasonable prices. Universalistic and quick yielding programmes benefits of groups should get priority over individual programmes. Programmes in modern sectors of economy have to take an education and health aimed at building the inner strength of the tribal community have received second priority.

Tribal communities and areas left untouched by the process of economic development in the country or those adversely affected by it are to be given special attention. The committee recommends that I.T.D.P.s. should

be started in areas at the lowest rung of the economic ladder. Isolated, minor backward tribal communities and extremely backward areas could be taken care of by Central Sector programmes. Problems resulting from gigantic industrial enterprises in extremely backward areas also need attention.

For furthering the time-bound task of tribal development, considerable urgent strengthening and restructuring of administrative and economic institutions is necessary. Evaluation is to be made an integral part of the administrative structure.

Protective measures:

Noting the partial success of protective measures the committee suggests that elimination of exploitation is to be given priority as an integral part of the plan for socio-economic development of the people. Time-bound programmes for their eradication or effective checking of harmful practices is necessary. These protective measures, the committee states, should be supplemented by citizens' education and economic support.

Land Alienation

State Governments have taken legal and administra-

five steps to present transactions by which the innocent tribal, through fraud or legal sale at nominal price, has been a common feature of tribal areas. Free legal aid and a review of illegal deprivations of land are suggested and the recommendation is that there may be an ad-hoc provision of Rs. one crore for legal assistance.

Marketing of agricultural and forest produce and supply of foodgrains and consumer commodities

Mentioning that the market is the key point of economic and social life of tribal communities, the committee states that all market operations should be viewed in the entirely and mentions the isolated, small and partial effort. This has resulted in marketing operations being uneconomical and the dependence on the traditional middle man for his needs. While suggesting special enactments to regular trading in tribal markets and emphasising on cooperation, a total of Rs.20 crores is suggested for developing marketing services and infra-structure in tribal areas. An estimate of Rs. 15 crores is suggested as an additive and supportive institutional finance. While the special working group on cooperation for Backward Classes gave in 1962 a marketable surplus in a block of the

order of Rs.10 lakhs per annum, an increase in prices and in production is said to work to about Rs.20 lakhs per Block. The total marketable surplus in 800 tribal blocks will be of the order of Rs.110 crores.

Credit

Rough estimates of the tribal credit indicate that 60% of the tribal families are indebted and the average loan is about Rs.300 per family, of the total loan of Rs.240 crores, 60% is estimated to be advanced by money lenders, whose total outstanding advances are estimated to Rs.144 crores. Debt reconciliation is said to have ameliorated the situation partially and an alternative source of financing is necessary as the total ~~non-~~ non-productive ~~and~~ outstanding loan is not less than Rs.100 crores. The Committee suggests that a beginning with a nuclear^u fund of Rs.5 crores may be made and that the Reserve Bank may advance a credit of Rs.20 crores. A further provision of Rs.2 crores is suggested to liquidate adverse service relationships of 1% of the indebted families which number about 80,000, and whose total debt at an average of Rs.300 per family is to the order of Rs.24 crores.

Excise Administration

An urgent review of the present excise arrangement

in all states is suggested since introduction of excise administration has resulted in tribal exploitation. A suitable policy of each area is suggested after review by a team of excise and general administrators, social workers and tribal leaders. A sum of Rs.25 crores is suggested for this purpose.

Strengthening of Traditional Institutions

Unable to comprehend the new ways of the legal and administrative frame slowly descending on them, and the subsequent confrontation with new codes of conduct, tribal communities feel defenceless, the gradual loss of authority and the traditional institutions becoming non-functional create a vacuum. Hence, the association of traditional institutions with programmes of education, social and economic development is suggested and the use of their formal and informal authority in furthering new goals. This involvement will enhance their sense of prestige and aid in slow transformation of these tribal areas into modern institutions over the next 10 to 20 years so that they can take over developmental functions in entirety.

Preparing digests of civil codes

Civil codes exclude tribal communities governed by their own social traditions. In the changing situation, two factors are important (a) Weakening of traditional social structure, and (ii) Emerging new urges informing enlightened community sections. A digest of civil codes of tribal communities is suggested in association with local tribal communities. Amendment of this code may be done by the traditional tribal panchayats when change is called for and the local community favours the change. Special allocations of research in the Fifth Plan are recommended.

Economic Development Programmes.

The committee has recommended 4 types of Economic Development Programmes as below:

Traditional Sector -I

A tribal programme with an aim of quickly maximising benefits to a large number of people must have as the target-group tribals practising traditional economic activity and living on agriculture and collection of forest produce. Spread-effects of non-traditional activities necessary for diversifying the economy will be limited to some areas and can benefit only in the long run.

Agriculture

In the diversified character of tribal ^{economy} agricultural/ following features are prominent :
Shifting cultivators, Workers on marginal land, unsurveyed lands with no basic records, unused and undeveloped irrigation potential, lack of surveys for irrigation potential and underground water resources, Even when institutions exist, there is denial to tribals of the agricultural credit benefits and extension as there is no clear title of land. Hence the Committee calls for a concerted attack on these problems.

Survey and Land Record

Quick preparation of Record of Rights in tribal areas is called for formal conferral of rights so that tribals may be beneficiaries of institutional finance. The necessary procedural and conceptual amendment could be attended to by T.R.Is. By the end of the Fifth Plan, completion of full survey of tribal lands is envisaged, a provision of Rs.10 crores for the programme is recommended. Formulation of definite schemes by the Revenue authorities and T.R.Is. is recommended.

Research and Extension

In order that the break-through in the agricultural sector of, the national economy resultant on research and

extension by way of improved seeds (HYV), fertilizers, land use, and agronomical practices reaches the tribal areas, establishment of a research station under agricultural university is established in the Development Projects. A provision of Rs.5 crores is recommended.

General Agricultural Development Programmes

The average holding of^a tribal house hold is estimated to be 5 acres and about 80% of the house-hold own lands. The total land with tribals is about 25 million acres. 45% of the agricultural house holds have been benefitted by cooperative activity in 1968-1969 and the level is expected to attain 60% mark by the end of the Fourth Plan. SFDA and MFAL programmes also would have benefitted a sizable section of the poorer cultivators. In tribal areas where cooperatives have recorded progress, a massive effort is necessary for benefitting a large percentage, of tribal families under agricultural programmes. At least 20% tribal households during the Fifth Plan period should be covered. The committees' estimate is that if an investment of Rs.200 per acre or about Rs.1000 per family is made for various items as land improvement, seed, fertilizer or soil conservation, a 20% coverage will require a total outlay of Rs.100 crores.

Credit for Production Purposes

Review of progress in general sector is necessary to assess requirement of credit for production purposes. It is said that in tribal areas, by the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan, a total allocation of 60 crores may be made.

Landless labourers

It is stated that the average agricultural holding in tribal areas is considerably higher than the average holding in the country, but there is a sharp decline in average tribal holding during the last decade and there is an increase in the number of landless labourers. In 1961, there were about 3 million agricultural labourers belonging to S.T.s and about 5% of the tribal house-holds owned less than ~~one~~ one acre of land. For the accentuated problem during the last 10 years, State Governments are allotting available land but families must ^{be} given additional help for establishing agriculturists. For the Fifth Five Year Plan, a target of covering at least 3 lakhs landless persons is suggested, and also a provision of Rs.1,000⁶ as aid and loan per family. The total cost in Fifth Plan will be Rs.48 crores.

Training Young Farmers

Five reasons have been cited ~~as~~^{as} hindrances to extension in tribal areas: (i) subsistence agriculture (ii) Primitive techniques (iii) difficulty of communication (iv) sparseness of population and (v) general lack of faith. It is suggested that during the Fifth Five Year Plan, at least two persons should be trained in the local research station attached to the Agricultural University. It is suggested that a provision of Rs. two crores be made to train young and educated couples in modern Techniques.

Animal Husbandry, Dair^ying etc.

The Committee states that inspite of abundⁿant cattle wealth and potentialities by way of extensive land and fodder resources in tribal areas, there is no development because there is no market and because of difficult communications. In some areas, barter by traditional traders continues. Hence, the recommendation is that adequate marketing infrastructure should be developed by taking up schemes of surveys, extension and development under animal husbandry, dairying and pisciculture. A provision of Rs. 50 crores is suggested.

Irrigation:

Vis-a-vis the all-India irrigation level in the year 1957-68 which was 17%, is expected to reach 21% of the areas is less than 10% of the cultivated area and in backward states it is 6 to 8 per cent. A provision of Rs.100 crores is suggested so that the level of irrigation in tribal areas may be raised to a minimum of 3% by bringing under it an additional 5 lakh acres. A provision of Rs.10 crores may be made for ^erepairs and restoration.

Working of Forest

The close link between forests and tribals was first stressed by the Elwin Committee and later the Surendra Singh Committee made a special study of forests. The Dhebbhar and Shilu Ao Committees stressed the importance of forests to tribals. The Expert Committee of 1974 states that forests continue to be the mainstay of tribal economy and that 10% of the tribal population persists in shifting cultivation, the minor forest produce being the only 'cash crop'. Observing the growth of state revenue from forests and the adverse effects on tribals due to their intensive exploitation and tightening up of forest administration. Hence, an urgent and

careful review of the emergency situation is suggested. The varied nature of the problems and practices in the contrary necessitate the area-wise careful casting of the policy. While stating the adequacy of the integrated area development programmes to provide the necessary frame for evolving a new approach to the working of forests, certain broad guidelines can be laid down:

- (i) Responsibility of the Forest Development to development tribals as well as the forest areas.
- (ii) Working of forests not at the cost of well recognised interests of, local communities.
- (iii) Acceptance of the principle of participative management in forestry so that tribals become an equal partner in formulating the policy for working and also its implementation.
- (iv) Taking into account local needs while planning development of forest resources in any area, and
- (v) The forest department becoming responsible for economic development of forest villages.

Forest Villages

A provision of Rs.5 crores is suggested for the respective Forest Departments that cover forest villages whose population totals 2.5 lakhs and to whom benefits of

normal developmental activities do not reach.

Development of Forests

The committee suggests that an urgent beginning should be made for developing problem forest areas outside reserve areas.

Forest Based Economics

Stating that agriculture based economies are pressing hard against the 'green wall' it is suggested that the tribals' interest in planting, tending and protecting the forest produce should be evoked. Processing should come automatically once the tribal stops being content with just collection.

Management of private tribal forests

Suggesting that at 1969-1970 level of forest income, a provision of Rs.1200 crores may be made and that 5% of the net profit from forests should be earmarked for these, the committee suggests an outline of the programme to develop their possessions on scientific lines as below. A scheme for education, planning and development of private tribal forests is suggested.

Shifting cultivation

In 1961, the estimate of the number of shifting cultivation, said to be at the lowest rung of the tribal community, was estimated to be about 25 lakhs. Isolated

efforts in some states for permanent settlement of these families has not been adequate. A joint effort alone by experts in foresting and agriculture and by integrating economic programmes with social services is suggested for the complex issue of shifting cultivation. Hence it is suggested that one special Project for each Development Project area should be taken up for shifting cultivators. During the Plan period, the total cost of the special Project may be about Rs.2,000 per family and one lakh families are expected to be covered during the period. A provision of Rs.20 crores is recommended.

The establishment of a Board on shifting cultivation at the national level is recommended. Its responsibility would extend over the following 4 activities:-

(i) evolving a policy for economic development of shifting cultivators.

(ii) co-ordinating various aspects of research-agricultural, forestry and social-in relation to shifting cultivation problems.

(iii) Approving area development plans for tracts of shifting cultivations, and

(iv) Review of the progress made and reporting to the Central Government.

It is suggested that the Board should be located in the Department of Social Welfare and have an expert on Forests, an Agricultural Scientist, a Sociologist and a general administrator.

Building up of Infra-structure-2.

The inadequate development of economic infra-structure has been a weakness of tribal areas. The ^{mila-}assimilative capacity of these areas limits the desirable quick pace of development. The heavy craft is due to topography. In some regions, even block headquarters are unconnected by all weather roads. If planning is to be functional, the approach to the infra-structure in tribal areas is to be changed. Normal criteria of advanced regions does not apply for extension of benefits of road communication and rural electrification. For infra-structural development, it is suggested that a group of villages or a compact geographical region may be treated as a unit-special attention should be paid to the market centre, the central communication point in tribal areas.

Roads.

The estimate is that 20,000 miles of pucca road at a cost of Rs.100 crores will have to be constructed and priority is to be given to culverts and bridges. A reasonably sized market would serve ^{rv} about 10,000 people and nearby 5,000 markets would require to be connected in all the tribal blocks.

Power.

Since electrification is a potent force for tribal development, it is suggested that a beginning be made in the Fifth-Five Year Plan. The aim of the programme should be that the power lines should reach to Block headquarters and some important growth centres, and that an allocation of Rs.100 crores be made for various programmes to extend electricity in tribal areas.

Modern Sector -3.

Modern industries getting attracted to these areas in due course is inevitable as the tribal areas have rich natural resources and good industrial potential. A review of industrial and mineral development policy in backward tribal areas is necessary, the Committee suggests. Industrial development in the national economy and its role as an agent of economic and social change

are both important. The ineffectivity of measures for protecting tribal interests and intensification of the process of exploitation are ^{on} bound to be heightened by a sudden and ^{unplanned} ~~unplanned~~ imposition of industries in backward areas. Confrontation of cultures leading to dangers of social disruption are also fore warned.

Many customary rights, privileges and incidental benefits enjoyed by tribals are without sanction of a written law. Industrialisation results in disturbance and ^{adverse} socio-economic adverse effects on the people. A review is called for of the concept of payment of compensation evolved in advanced areas with written rights and the recipient culture is at a disadvantage.

The Team also states that the expectation of the infruding industrial culture is for the overnight adoption of the tribal culture to its ways. The working of the industries must suit local conditions. The tribal will continue to treat agriculture as his mainstay for quite some time but being suspicious, he will continue to work temporary rather than cast his entire ^{fate} ~~fate~~ with the industry. The recommended contextual arrangement is treating the services of a ^{tribal} ~~tribal~~ as continuous if a substitute is provided during his temporary absence.

The unfair practices of private entrepreneurs indulging in quick-yielding ventures with concomitant exploitation of the tribal situational simplicity makes effective regulation on scattered enterprises difficult as the adventures become influential. Starting of cooperatives and cooperations with state participation is suggested in backward areas which do not normally attract industrialists. The starting of viable industrial and mineral corporations is suggested for a Development Project or Region depending on the potential development.

Four new elements are recommended in the industrial and mineral development policy:-

- (1) Adequate financial provision for area development of the zone of influence of big industrial undertakings being a part of the project report.
- (2) Starting in backward areas of big industries in public sector; establishing, for medium and middle scale industries cooperative institutions or corporation with state participation; special regulation for controlling private industrial activity and if necessary, review of necessary rules for grant of mining leases.³⁾ Adaptation ~~the~~ Working of the working of industries with a view to suit local conditions and enabling tribes to benefit most; and

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(4) Assuring suitability of plans to ensure to tribals a continuous share in benefits from new ~~expanding~~ development.

Small scale Industries:-

Many tribal communities with a rich tradition of handicrafts and well developed household industries do not have much functional specialization while others continue as ~~food~~^{food}-gatherers in the economic stage. Some traditional industries facing competition from cheaper machine-made goods are uneconomical. Opening up of tribal areas has ^{wi}idened the market for minor produce continues to be exported in raw form. The Team states that the level of technological skill of tribal communities is going down.

Isolated efforts to help traditional art and crafts and house-hold industry and steps taken to organize collection of minor forest produce and do local processing have not produced an impact.

Planning is necessary to harness technical skill available in tribal communities. From amongst artisans and 'skilled' workers, innovators for processes of new economic development can be had. Attempt should be that

mere collection of forest produce gives way to production and processing, schemes are suggested for cosa cocoons, cosa worms and cosa thread. Similar attempts are also recommended in respect of heavy, gum and other forest produce.

A quick survey is suggested of viable small industries to be taken up jointly by the Forest, Industries, and tribal welfare departments, and the taking up of an integrated small scale industries development programme in compact areas to cover a sizeable tribal population. The immediate establishment of one small industry complex in each development project is suggested. More complexes would be taken up as the Fifth Plan proceeds.

While mentioning that adequate institutional-finance should be arranged to assist these small industries, the committee suggests that the contribution required from tribals in the form of nucleus money should be provided by government on a grant-in-aid and loan basis in suitable cases. It is suggested that total government outlay on small industries be Rs.10 crores. Another 20 crores may be provided by Finance Institutions.

Medium Industries:

These will play a twin important role in providing

employment and developing new centres of economic growth. Identification of growth centres and taking up of feasibility studies should be taken up immediately in areas where resource surveys have been made. ^{Medium} ~~Medium~~ industries ^{should} ~~should~~ be started in Public and /or cooperative sector. There should be a wider participation of people into the structure of new industries. These should adapt their working to local conditions so that maximum benefits accrue to the local community. In these backward areas, ^{developed} ~~new~~ industrial culture should be ~~helped~~ ^{developed}. Development of a new industrial culture is suggested in backward areas.

Mineral Development

Mineral development is expected to play an important role in diversification of tribal economy. Beginning with the extraction of minerals only, it may spread to other areas later on. The role of local tribal communities should not be limited to provision of unskilled labour. Tribals must become equal partners in ownership and in profit-sharing and benefits of new industry must percolate to the entire community. Cooperatives are suggested for smaller mining industries and suitable corporations for medium industries.

There should be review of mining rules to equate them

with the concept of integrated development outlined here. Partnership of local communities in any future venture in these backward areas is suggested.

The total requirement for adequacy of institutional capital to areas for developing mineral and forest industries is estimated at Rs.10 crores. Government participation in share of concerned organisation and provision of subsidy management on a tapering basis is suggested. The plan may provide 10 crores and financing institutions may provide the rest.

Special programmes for Tribals Affected by Major Projects

In areas where industries have been started, the following steps are suggested:

- (i) A quick survey identifying the tribal problem of uprootedness by projects and those living in their vicinity.
- (ii) Formulating special programmes to ^kmake the tribal employable in the new townships and industries and helping them in establishing suitable independent professions as dairying, small trade or help in diversifying his own agriculture.
- (iii) Starting special health programmes to fight any diseases of civilization;

(iv) Special programmes for protection and rehabilitation of women, and

A provision of Rs.10 crores on an ad-hoc basis for the above mentioned problems.

An additional allocation of Rs.5 crores is made for the concerned Ministries to make special provision for tribal areas alone. Advance action by the social & welfare department in respect of areas where industries are proposed to be set up in future is suggested.

For starting industries in tribal areas, the continued attention of a body at the national level with representatives of Bureau of Public Enterprises, financing institutions, state industries departments, and Department of social welfare with the following functions is suggested:

- (i) Review of progress of industrialization in tribal areas;
- (ii) Review the flow of institutional finance
- (iii) Review the steps taken by various organisations to solve tribal problems resultant on industrialisation in a big way.

Economic Development Programmes - 4

(Isolated small Tribal communities).

By their very nature, social and economic programmes

outlined in the earlier section with the object of integration into development plans will benefit tribals living in sizeable concentrations. The problem of minor tribes that are numerically small is acute but these tribes tend to be forgotten. The Committee suggests that tribe-oriented development programmes should be prepared for these tribal communities.

The variation in size of these communities is from 500 to 10,000. As such an average minor tribe for special assistance can be taken to have 2,500 member. The committee and recommends/^{and}states the adequacy of about Rs.1,000 as investment per family. The target group during the Fifth Five Year Plan period is supposed to number 200 and at the rate of Rs.5 lakhs per tribe, it is suggested that a total provision of Rs.10 crores may be made.

Social Services

The Committee states that in the integrated developmental approach, programmes helping to build inner strength of tribal communities rank next in priority to protective measures. The three basic components for economic growth of the community viz. investment in education, social education and public health assume a new significance in a

situation where there is confrontation of cultures at different levels of development. The inadequate investment in these critical sectors has led to intensification of exploitation and denial to tribals of benefits of opportunities generated by the areal opening. The committee states categorically that social inputs must become integral part of economic development programmes.

Education

The Education Department has prepared a plan of Rs.3,200 crores in consonance with the universalization of enrolment in the 6-11 age-group by the year 1975-76 and 11-14 by the year 1980-1981. Projecting the enrolment of tribal students at various stages vis-a-vis the general students, it is clear that short falls at various levels are heavy for tribals. In assistance programmes for tribal education and those providing physical facilities the first charge will be for ^{Students} students belonging to S.Cs. STs. and Castes and the total expenditure envisaged may work to about Rs.250 crores. Mentioning the inadequacy of the above programmes for universal coverage of tribals, some special programmes are suggested as below: Education at various levels, improvement of standards, extra curricular activities(educational terms), physical education, hostels,

and education of special group-youth in the age-group of 15-25 for instance. There are susceptible to exploitation and subject to same handicaps as tribals of earlier generations. As future leaders their role is important. A provision of Rs.5 crores is suggested for those living in extremely backward areas. A special programme for citizen education is also suggested as traditional and adolescent education and youth education will make impact on development of tribal areas only in the long run. The contents of this special programme should focus on the tribals' rights as citizens and how they relate to administration. The twin goal of this programme is to prepare tribals to face outsiders when these areas are opening up and enable them for active participation in democratic processes of the country. A total provision of Rs.5 crores is suggested for the programme including literature production. Adequate incentives for teachers working in tribal areas is suggested and facilities, particularly for women teachers in the interior of tribal areas. An ad-hoc provision of Rs.2.5 crores is recommended.

Market.

The team then mentions the tribal market as the main centre of cultural activity from which there is a flow of

information and its consequent important role in the communication network; The team recommends that an organized effort to introduce new forms of entertainment may be introduced. Markets may become the nodes for encouraging inter-village sports and other social activities for men, women, young and old. Inter-market and inter-regional competitions are suggested. The culmination or apex could be at Development Project level and specialisation of tribal areas could be introduced in sports. It is suggested that 2,000 such centres be developed at a cost Rs. one crore. The above measures are suggested for utilisation of the full communication potential tribal markets.

Public Health

Other schemes suggested are for Public Health. With the object of correction of geographical maldistribution by alteration of the criteria viz. 3 health centres for 25,000 in each tribal block in place of the prevalent norms of a full-fledged centre for 100,000 is suggested. The total cost of the programme aiming at one more health centre for each tribal block is estimated at Rs. 40 crores and the provision should be made in the Plan of the Public Health Department. Rectification is also sought of medical personnel not reaching the Primary Health Centre, a shortfall to be made good in the Fifth Plan. Free supply of medicine to tribal areas is suggested and a ^{review} ~~review~~ thereafter of the

position. An adhoc annual provision of Rs.5 crores @ Rs. 10,000 Block is recommended. A programme is suggested for drinking water wells as this is a major tribal problem. A review is suggested of the limited success, costwise, of the programme of boring hand pumps and ensuring a strategy of safe water supply to villages with a population of 100 or more. The target for the Fifth Five Year is a minimum of 50%, for which a provision of Rs.50 crores may be made.

Housing

The team states that there is a lot of wastage in duplicating urban type housing facilities unsuitable for tribal colonies and points out the need for an evaluation (assessment) of the existing tribal housing patterns and a better alternative use of local materials. The recommendation is that a special cell in the central building research institute be created for research on tribal housing and evolving of designs of areal utility. Adoption of designs for public buildings will have demonstration value and the better off tribals may use these. Provision of Technical guidance to tribals is also recommended.

The haphazard establishment of growth centres is mentioned as another dimension of the problem of tribal

housing. Stressing the preventive rather than curative aspect of tribal housing so that conditions leading to slums are checked, the involvement of the Town and Country Planning Organisation with development of small model villages and towns in tribal areas is suggested. Rs. 50 crores are recommended for this purpose.

Administering Tribal Development

Since the key to success of planning in tribal areas depends on administrative structure and personnel the Team calls for a restructure and revision.

Personnel Policy

Stressing the need of proper incentives and adequate compensation for officers in tribal areas and especially in isolated and difficult areas, the committee stresses the need for living accommodation and special pay. The total cost in the Fifth Five Plan is estimated to be 18 crores. A number of incentives are suggested to draw officers of calibre. Among these are special recognition for promotion, adequate reservation ⁱⁿ these ~~are~~ for schooling, framing of special leave rules and special state level and national level awards. A careful selection of key administrative personnel is suggested.

Officers with a vision and sense of dedication alone should be chosen. Special Committees at the state level (chaired by the Chief Secretary) and at the Development Project level are recommended.

Restructuring of Administration:

The Team points out the situational simplicity in tribal areas and the need to develop a tribal administrator confidence relationship. Hence it is suggested that a single agency should provide at one point services essential to the tribals. The sophisticated machinery failed to function efficiently primarily for want of a good communication net-work, lack of high of high quality of personnel, long chains of command and want of coordination.

Integration is recommended of various organisations working in allied fields as public health including malaria eradication, health services and family planning. So that supervision is effective. For optional utilisation of technical man power available in the area, merging at the lower level and retention of the identity at the Development Project level is suggested of various branches of public works deptt., public health engineering department and minor irrigation. An all purpose generalist^o

approach is suggested in each of the broad technical field. Pointing out that the structure in the rest of the country is at a level of economic development comparable or even considerably higher than the present level in tribal areas, the committee states that the same approach holds good in the backward regions.

Hamlet.

Stating that in a number of tribal areas a 'village' does not represent any except a conglomeration of hamlets for revenue purposes, the committee suggests that the first basic departure from the prevalent practice should be to treat hamlet, instead of a revenue village as the unit of development effort. The gramsevak, patwari and teacher are all to be involved as members of the developmental team. Pooling of administrative resources in time of need is suggested.

Service Centre.

A well-defined area is suggested as the main centre of extension work at the next administrative level. An extension centre which should be the market

centre also. No tribal should be required to go beyond this point for extension services, credit, marketing, supplyment of foodgrains, consumer commodities and agricultural inputs. This will become in many places the growth^{ow} centre of the small economic region.

Development Project.

Where carved, the Development Project and in other cases, the district, temporarily a critical level for planning and execution. The Chief Executive of the Agency should be placed in overall charge of total governmental administration except judiciary. No interference is to be tolerated in the day-to-day working of other departments. The recommendation is that the Chief executive should have an authority to veto those schemes which, in his opinion, go against tribal interests. At the project level, establishment of a commercial instruction is recommended. It should combine the following functions- marketing, credit of all descriptions, supply of foodgrains, essential consumer commodities and agricultural inputs. The Project could supervise it and its effort in the economic field could be supplemented.

Regional Development Authority

There should be grouping of the Development Projects

in the same tribal belt and placed under a Regional Development Authority which should coordinate plans and policies of all field organisations with powers to sanction plans and supervise their implementation. Government should be the referral authority only on high level policy matters.

State Government

Since high powered Regional Development Authorities would function in the field it is suggested that the state Headquarters should concentrate on review of performance, removal of bottle-necks, coordination of high level policies in different departments and ensuring flow of resources. Specific roles are assigned to Tribal Research Institutes, and Department of Tribal Welfare. Setting up of Statistical and Evaluation units and an official Level Committee is suggested to review progress of time-bound priority programmes, protective measures, . general development of tribal areas and take high level policy decisions. For periodical review of the tribal situation, a ministerial level Committee with Chief Minister in the chair is suggested.

Central Government

A positive role of planning and review is recommended for the Department of Social Welfare and a

detailed evaluation of the project at least once in five years. For specific time-bound programmes, establishment of strong cells is suggested and a continuous review of the ways and means position of each project to act as a trouble shooter.

It is suggested that although the Ministries of Home Affairs and of Agriculture are also responsible for Tribal Development along with the Department of Social Welfare there should be a transfer to the last mentioned* of all functions relating to tribal development. The Department of social welfare will be required to take up the challenge of new strategy.

A provision of Rs.10 crores for rationalisation of administrative structure is suggested. The streamlining and strengthening of field administration and a sum of Rs. 5 crores is recommended as the cost of strengthening headquarters organisation at the state and Central Government level.

Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

The Commissioner S.Cs and S.Ts appointed under Article 338 of the constitution is in charge of investi-

* Department.

gation regarding all matters relating to the constitutional safeguards provided for the S.Cs and S.Ts and report to the President upon their working. The assistance of the zonal officers should aid the Commissioner for S.C.s and S.T.s to keep him updated with the tribal situation particularly in respect of protection by legal and administrative measures and the past industrialised social situation in comparatively backward areas.

Voluntary Organisations.

It is suggested that voluntary effort can be a real asset in tribal development. The Team suggests that voluntary organisations should be encouraged to undertake specific projects so that there could be evaluation of results and inculcation of normal development budget. While specific projects are to be treated as a part of the total effort in the particular area, it is suggested that expenses be met from the normal development budget. A total provision of Rs.2 crores is recommended for agencies with maintenance grant for supportive and service organisations.

The total outlay is indicated below:-

Table 6

	<u>CRORES</u>
1. Agriculture and forests	264.00
2. Protective Measures	89.00
3. Animal Husbandry	50.00
4. Irrigation	115.00
5. Communications	100.00
6. Electricity	100.00
7. Industry	90.00
8. Isolated small tribal communities	10.00
9. Special programmes for tribals affected by major projects	15.00
10. Education	536.00
11. Public Health	110.00
12. Administration and voluntary agencies)	60.00
13. T.D. programme	60.00
	<u>1,600.00</u>
	=====

Thus allocationwise, Education is given priority. It is followed by Agriculture and forests and Irrigation.

Public Health ranks fourth. Adequate integration of the total outlay into area development programmes is suggested, and the flow of resources in the following form:

- (i) General state sector schemes;
- (ii) Centrally sponsored schemes to be borne by the Development of social welfare or the concerned Ministry;
- (iii) General assistance in the form of T.D. programmes as a transitional measure; and
- (iv) Integrated area development programmes for extremely backward areas where provision of resources from Central and State Governments is as a lump sum.

While further details ^{for provisions of} such as fixation of priority, urgency and accountability funds are suggested regarding source and allocation of financing, the following reasons are stated for the comparative necessity of the larger Central Plan in the Fifth Plan:

- (A) Concentration of a vast tribal majority in the four economically backward states viz. Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar and Rajasthan for whom there will be inadequacy of the general sector resources to make ^{an} impact ^{on} in the stipulated time.

(b) Indivisibility of a sizeable portion of State Plans in the nature of infra-structure building. The inadequacy of the small divisible part of general sector resources which investments will benefit tribal areas also but only in the long run with the immediate future left untouched.

(c) Committing of a part of the General Sector resources to spill over works and the possible inadequate share of tribal areas.

(d) Low level of general sector resources flowing into tribal areas and the nominal non-plan commitments. Representing of the plan allocations as the total investment in tribal areas.

(e) Possibility of an overall resource allocation ^{of} to sectors high priority economic activity in tribal areas that have receded to a lower priority at the national level, and thus being unable to claim smaller share in the National Plan. The falling short of their requirement on pro-rata basis of the investment in these high priority sectors.

(f) Envisaging a plan of a sizeable private investment at the national level with no appreciable private sector

investment in tribal areas. Correction of the imbalance by a higher allocation in public sector investments for tribal areas.

Conversion is suggested of the T.D. Block in the context of Integrated Area Development programmes. When area development programmes are ready, it is suggested that grant in the form of ad-hoc T.D. allocations should cease to flow. Further, since the present T.D. Block^s are started in areas with 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent or more tribal concentration the suggestion is that blocks with 50 per cent or more tribal concentration should be covered in the Fifth Five Year Plan. The anomaly in the assistance pattern to T.D. Blocks in different stages is sought to be rectified by raising the assistance in the second stage to one lakh and by adding another stage to a Development Project for area development.

Since the merging of the T.D. programme is envisaged to merge in area development programme, the suggestion is to discontinue separate tribal development assistance to states and U.T.s, with

tribal majority. Normal State Plans should be deemed to be area development plans and should provide adequate funds for tribal development. Increase in the inadequate quantum of assistance to 4 lakhs per annum is suggested. A total allocation of Rs. 60 crores is recommended in the Fifth Plan to introduce area development programmes in due course.

The necessity for spelling out the nature of special schemes for extremely backward areas is also suggested. The stress is on the requirements of each area. Priority is recommended for extremely backward areas. 10 to 20 percent of the T.Ds Blocks in each state are estimated to qualify on this ^{cn} criterion and planning is suggested for about 150 blocks. In the Fifth Five Year Plan, 50 lakhs are considered necessary to cover various schemes of building up infra-structure, social services and economic development. With a total national effort for the tribal area being of the order of Rs. 1,600 crores, a per capita outlay of about Rs. 400 during the Fifth Five Year Plan period is suggested. This investment may generate an additional income of about Rs. 100 per capita in the tribal areas in the last year of the Fifth Five Year Plan Period. The

Committee specially mentions this as the minimum essential effort in 1968-1969, the per capita income in some tribal pockets was reported to be Rs.132 as against the per capita national income of Rs.546.

Ensuring Flow of General Sector Resources

With a view of a precise assessment of the effort of various organisations for tribal development and ensuring adequate flow of resources to these areas, checks at the planning and budgeting level are suggested. At the time of preparation of the Fifth Five Year Plan the states and Central Ministries are required to make a clear indication of their proposed allocation for tribal areas. The Team suggests that the clear indication in the plan itself of the overall national effort for tribal development should be a procedure adopted for preparation of annual plans in the states and at the centre. At the annual budget stage, an explanatory obligatory note is suggested indicating the distribution or proposed expenditure between tribal and non-tribal areas. The ^{criteria} ~~criteria~~ for deciding whether a scheme is to be shown in the tribal sector should not be its geographic location but the accrual of the benefit of the scheme or otherwise to the tribal area.

Another innovation for ensuring successful implementation of time-bound programmes of tribal development will be the preparation of the plan of tribal areas in two parts (i) Case Plan, and (ii) Auxiliary Plan . The Case plan aiming at a minimum achievement level in key sections in the next 10 years should include enforcement of protective legislation, building up of economic infrastructure and providing minimum social inputs including health services should have a larger span of ¹⁵⁻²⁰ ~~15-20~~ years. It is suggested that the Planning Commission should underwrite finance for each area. This step is expected to ensure to initiate work with certainty in advance in high priority sector.

Some special features of the proposed programmes are as follows:-

1. Taking up on a scale marketing and supply of consumer^r goods in tribal areas to effect influence and regulate the tribal economy, to end the trader's sway in these areas.
2. Provision of consumer credit on a sizeable scale.
3. Special attention to extremely backward areas and tribes.

4. Planning of infra-structure development has been on a functional basis. Connection of market centres by all weather approach roads, power lines and provision of basic facilities at important growth centres.
5. A well integrated education programme for 100 per cent effective coverage in elementary schools is envisaged. In past arrangements, where weakness has appeared, adequate assistance has been provided.
6. Streamlining and restructuring of administration, evaluation of plan efforts and effective supervision have been made an integral part of development plan itself. There has been working out of adequate institutional arrangements from the hamlet to the national level.

Advance Action

The Committee stresses that programmes have to ^{be} time-bound since urgency is the key note of the new strategy of Tribal development. The following steps are as preparatory exercises:-

(1) Appraisal about the broad strategy to the Planning Commission, Ministries in the Central Government, State Government and Union ^{Territory} ~~Territory~~ Administrations about the broad strategy and a request to them to indicate

separate allocations for tribal development in their draft plan proposals and holding discussions to ensure adequate provision by all concerned.

(ii) Start collection of data on tribal areas with a view to carve out Development Projects in each state. Strengthening of the Tribal Research Institute.

(iii) Identifying, in consultation with state governments on the basis of available data, the more backward and isolated regions whose development is to be taken up on a priority basis, an exercise to be completed in 1973-1974. Preparation of integrated development Plans in 1973-1974 to be launched with inauguration of the Fifth Plan.

(iv) Identifying minor isolated tribes adopting the same procedure as in (ii) above

(v) Establishment of a Board on shifting cultivation and identification of ~~xx~~ areas for special projects as in (iii) above. It's immediately starting necessary inter-disciplinary action-studies supportive to planning for shifting cultivators.

(vi) Setting up committees at Central and State

levels on (a) Personnel Policy and Structure of Administration (b) Marketing, Credit and Debt Relief (c) Land Legislation and Survey, to work out-legislative structural and procedural changes necessary in each state to achieve plan objectives.

(vii) Starting a dialogue with State Governments on review of excise administration.

(viii) Starting a dialogue with State Governments and Ministry of Agriculture on administration of forests.

(ix) Establishment of a Committee on Industrialisation in Tribal Areas.

(x) Requesting the State Governments to initiate surveys and preparing plans for (a) minor and medium irrigation (b) old irrigation tanks (c) market roads and (d) small industries.

(xi) Strengthening and restructuring of the existing market agencies in the States and helping them increase volume of trade.

(xii) Review of policy of pre-natal scholarships in various States and evolving of a national strategy.

(xiii) Selecting schools for special attention and development on model lines.

(xiv) Selecting tribal dialects (including their regional variations), in which primary school text books should be prepared. Commissioning writing of manuscripts so that books are ready in the next two years.

(xv) Preparation of literature of citizens' education in tribal dialects, and

(xvi) Strengthening the tribal wing in the department of social welfare to enable it to shoulder to new responsibility.

A provision of Rs.10 crores in the present Plan itself is pleaded for the advance action.

V
W.

Report of the Task Force on Development of Tribal Areas.

The Task Force appointed by the Planning Commission * (mentioned at p.275 of this study) had the following terms of reference:

*vide circular No. PC/S/53(1)/71 dated April 5, 1972.

- (i) To review the nature and level of development, identify the present bottlenecks and weaknesses in policies and programmes and suggest corrective measures.
- (ii) To suggest a perspective of development from 1973-74 to 1988-89 in the light of the overall development perspective envisaged in the Fourth Plan.
- (iii) To formulate proposals for the Fifth Plan in the light of the perspective indicating priorities, policies, programmes and outlays.

A summary is given below of recommendations of the Task Force on Development of Tribal Areas:

Approach in the Fifth Plan

To ensure socio-economic development of tribal areas, a new approach of integrated development for the fifth and subsequent plan is suggested. Macro, meso and micro areal pockets of tribal population throughout the country are to be marked in the following manner:-

1. Grouping contiguous tribal development blocks and areas with high concentration of tribal population that are geographically and administratively viable.
2. Areas coterminous with district or taluk boundaries,
- and 3. Tribal development blocks. Besides the above

three groups, small tribal pockets throughout the country needing special attention should receive priority in multi-level planning at district level.

4. A proper assessment of combination of ecological, occupational and social parameters should aid in policy formulation and implementation of programmes to ensure steady flow of benefits ^{for} to the weakest among S.T.s.

Plan Programmes.

In the formulation of economic development programmes in tribal areas, since emphasis has to be on primary sector of economy, policies of land reform and provision of infrastructure should be based on customary rights of the tribal people on land and forest.

Speeding up survey and settlement of land records, restoration of alienated land protections against a usurious practices of money-lenders, provision of credit, marketing, ware housing facilities and provision for agricultural inputs is necessary.

Evolving of a simple administrative structure for implementation of area development programmes is necessary. A limited number of functionaries could

undertake multiple jobs. Services of experts in tribal culture could be utilised to have a better comprehension of the overall tribal development.

People's Participation:

Effective implementation of developmental programmes with a maximum of people's participation.

Short-term and Long-term Programmes.

In short-term planning the programmes are, priority-wise, completion of land records, debt redemption and elimination of bonded labour. Infrastructure for extension of credit, marketing, market link roads and inputs for agriculture development are urgent and need priority. Emphasis on the minimum needs programme (MNP) would be necessary as a short-term programme. This programme would consist of pre-primary, primary and ashram schools, nutritious feeding of children, health centres etc.

A long-term plan would require a concerted drive for implementation and enacting legislative measures for ^{land} alienation and restoration of tribal ~~x~~ land. Intensification of efforts for diversification of employment opportunities, development of institutional frame-work, growth centres, communications and provision^{on}

for research, evaluation and training of personnel chosen for work in tribal areas.

Identification of tribal areas.

As part of advance action, it is suggested that each State / U.T. should identify lists of areas and indicate tribal population concentration. Smaller isolated pockets of tribal population may be listed separately.

Categorising Tribal Areas as backward

Grading identified tribal areas for backwardness or other-wise in accordance with certain limited criteria to help accord priority to backward areas while integrated area development plans are drawn up.

It is suggested that as tribal areas like Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Laccadive and Minicoy Islands are co-terminus with State/Union Territory boundaries and the entire development plan is for tribals, these should be excluded from the list of backward tribal areas.

The following criteria are suggested for

categorisation of tribal areas into extremely backward and backward,

(i) Density of tribal population in relation to arable land (tribal population more than 50 per cent).

(ii) Rate of literacy (rate of literacy less than 5% or less than 50% literacy rate of the district average).

(iii) Arable land, forest resources, irrigation facilities etc.

(iv) Occupation of the tribals, like hunting, fishing, food gathering etc.

(v) Availability of agricultural infra-structure - land reforms, agricultural inputs, credit, marketing, warehousing etc. and

(vi) Development of infrastructure (facilities like schooling, medical facilities, communications and transport etc.).

Identifying less developed tribal communities.

The uneven development of tribes has resulted in identification of less developed communities so that they may become the beneficiaries. The economic

status in the district and literacy rates vis-a-vis the general level of literacy in the district are two criterion suggested for grading as backward an available list of tribal communities.

Alienation of land.

Customary rights of tribal communities in respect of land, pattern of land distribution and organisation of such rights would form an effective data base for evolving any programme on land. Another imperative mentioned is an assessment of changes taking place in the socio-economic land tenure systems in tribal areas, due to the tribal and non-tribal contact, and changes in governmental policy, and a review of the legislative and executive measures.

Another recommendation is for the customary recognition of tribals in land and forests in the context of a changing situation where many of these would need change and the national interest would prevent.

Compilation of land records.

Stating that a uniform approach in different parts of the country in identification of the tribal rights on land and forests cannot be ensured, details ^{of} ~~of~~

region specific tribal problems are suggested for formulation of appropriate policy.

Early completion is suggested of cadastral surveys, settlement operations and preparation of records of rights. These would enable tribals to obtain loans from cooperative societies or commercial banks.

Among the measures to solve economic distribution of tribals, the following are suggested: protection and alienation of land, concessional facilities for ~~land~~ ^{land} development and elimination of exploiting class of moneylenders.

Legislative measures.

The Team states that as a supplement to the administrative or legal approach. The governments endeavour should be to restore lands alienated from tribals since 1947.

Credit facilities.

To tackle the problem of indebtedness, a wider coverage of institutional credit in tribal areas is suggested. Orientation of methods of operation of finance institutions would be required to suit the

special tribal needs.

The suggestion is that social education of tribals relating to these aspects should be undertaken with the assistance of officials and non-official agencies in the confidence of the tribals. A further suggestion is that credit requirements of tribals must cover both productive and unproductive purposes. It may be necessary to devise methods of financing to take into account accounts medicine and short-term loans.

Excise policy.

Review of the excise policy is called and tribals should be left alone for manufacture, distribution and sale of liquor. For the resultant fall in the ^Cexcise revenue to the states, partial or full compensation may be made by the Central Government.

Department of Tribal People on Forests.

Mentioning the near-completion of codification of rights, privileges and concessions of the local people in the forest in most areas, the Committee

suggests the expedition of settlement operations in certain areas so that codification in tribal areas may be completed.

Forest Policy.

An area-wise comprehensive review is suggested of the operational aspect of tribal policy. Ignorance of tribals regarding forest policy is noted to be causing hardship to them. The suggestion made is that there should be wide publicity of this policy through various channels of communication Reorientation training of the staff engaged in forest management in tribal areas is suggested to ensure that welfare aspects of forest policy are remembered. The engagement of tribals in various services especially at the field level is suggested and relaxation of minimum educational and physical standards.

Shifting Cultivation.

Pointing ^{out} to the impos^sibility of the sudden ending of the practice of shifting cultivation, the team states that without delay, the practice of shifting cultivation may be ~~practised~~ ~~other suggestions~~

made more productive by introducing better agricultural practices. Other suggestions are for inculcating commercial forestry as bamboos, taking up of horticulture to enable tribals to supplement their incomes, introduction of short-term crops like pulses requiring less irrigation and fertilizers, and undertaking pilot projects for demonstrating better economics of improved shifting cultivation.

Another recommendation is the setting up for tackling the entire problem of shifting cultivation and promoting research into methods of shifting cultivation, development of horticulture and others.

Other measures.

The Team stresses the following measures - provision of basic amenities as drinking water and medical facilities, location of forest-based industries in these areas for diversification of employment opportunities, and extension of the Minimum Wage Act to forest labour and enforcement machinery creation for this purpose. Other measures include the setting up of forest cooperatives to exploit forest areas and promotion of cottage and processing industries, abolition of the permit system for collection of raw.

material for these industries and allowing tribals free collection of minor forest produce; rehabilitation of tribals displaced due to large deforestation in the surrounding areas; developing communication in forests on a priority basis; setting up Forest Working Advisory Committee at various levels in different economic zones to seek tribal cooperation in management of forest areas.

Impact of industrialization.

The following measures are suggested:

1. The development of the zone of influence of a new industrial complex forming an integral part of the project report and providing adequate financial provision.
2. Enabling people to become co-sharers to benefits reaching to these areas. Taking up in the Fifth Plan special programmes for tribals^d affected by major industries irrigation projects and others.
3. Setting up at the national level a Committee with representatives of Public Enterprises, Department of Social Welfare, State Industries^d Department, Social Welfare Department and Planning Commission.

Infra-structure:

The following measures are considered necessary to remedy the problem of alienation.

- (i) Immediate survey and preparation of record of rights-
- (ii) Reclamation of land.
- (iii) Survey of irrigation potential.
- (iv) Adaptation of research to suit the needs of cropping practices and facilities of marketing in tribal areas.
- (v) Proper guidance for cultivation where ever there is introduction of improved variety of crops.
- (vi) Relaxation of irrigation levies wherever irrigation is made available.
- (vii) Provision of easy institutional terms for minor irrigation and
- (viii) Extension to the tribal areas of rural electrification mainly for irrigational purposes.

There will be accordance of priority for ~~attain~~ elimination of money lenders and organisation for marketing and credit facilities. For development of weekly

hats as commercial centres; the following steps are enumerated:

(i) Linking of hats with all weather roads to the main arteries of communications in the district and especially to block headquarters.

Making of
(ii) /Provision of sheds along with godowns and if possible, electricity connections.

(iii) Location in market places of Branches of cooperatives for credit, sale and purchase.

(iv) Simplification of rules of credit and allowing credit cooperatives to give loans for consumption of non-productive purposes also, and

(v) Ensuring Reasonable prices, correct weights and measures to wear away tribals from money-lenders.

For linkage of tribal areas with roads, the following steps are suggested:

(1) Connection during Fifth Plan of each hat centre serving 10,000 population to be connected with main roads.

(ii) Setting up of Road Construction Boards to effect coordination between various departments like PWD, Forest, Zila Parishad etc. to check results such as unfinished

roads or improper maintenance.

(iii) Making Panchayats responsible for small road works in tribal areas where it is not possible to raise resources by Panchayats and subsidise them for maintenance.

Another step suggested is the entrusting of tribal development corporations to take up most of the marketing activities in tribal areas.

In case of medical personnel and health measures, the following steps are suggested.

(i) Training of local persons in tribal areas to work as medical personnel except doctors.

(ii) Avoidance of specialisation in tribal areas. One doctor as a general physician and in charge of family planning is considered sufficient.

(iii) Increase in number of sub-centres attached to primary health centres and locality these near tribal hats.

(iv) Introduction of more mobile dispensaries with whatever mode of transport is available.

(v) Taking Care of special medicine requirements and taking sufficient stock of simple medicines.

(vi) Emphasis in tribal areas being on prevention of diseases and health education; also where the rate is low, orientation towards family planning of decreasing infant mortality etc.

(vii) Undertaking of survey of drinking water facilities and giving priority to scarcity areas while planning the programmes. The aim suggested is one water source for each tribal hamlet.

(viii) Making of provision for repair of wells, tanks, handpumps etc. It is considered necessary to give rudimentary training to local people to do repair work.

(ix) ~~(viii)~~ Construction of special ^hilly work agency to suit local needs.

(x) Necessity to provide mid-day meals to school going children and special ^{nutrition} ~~nutrition~~ feeding of children 0-5 years of age. Implementation of nutrition programme through integrated child care services.

Administrative and Personnel Policy

1. At the field level there should be single agency administration. On the whole, the need is to rationalise the entire administrative machinery in tribal areas.
2. Simplification of administrative structure required in these areas to be within the tribals comprehension. The tribal must be required to deal with limited number of persons within their confidence.
3. Integration of administrative structure at an appropriate level so that regular and developmental functionaries may work in a coordinated manner for speedier economic development.
4. The need for a senior officer and a suitable staff to stand narrow specialisations in a broad group.
5. The time-bound^u nature of Fifth Plan Programmes requires that specific accountability should be built-in the administrative system so that at the field level quick decisions may be taken.
6. Building up of an adequate mechanism for evaluation and feed-back so that corrective steps are taken in time.

7. Grouping Tribal Development Blocks into Tribal Development Areas or Agencies.
8. Unification of functions with Chief Executive Officer having overall ^{control} central.
9. Assisting the Chief Executive officer by an expert on tribal Culture - an anthropologist or Sociologist, for instance. The role of the expert should be confined to giving advice but he should be required to assist the Chief Executive Officer in project formulation and programme implementation.
10. Grouping of tribal areas into viable development regions co-terminus with a district or group of districts.
11. A high powered developing authority having the administration of areas under full control with sufficient decision-making powers so that related small matters need not be referred to the state Government.
12. Creating a high-powered development authority at the above level with administration of these areas under its full control with sufficient decision-making powers so that related small matters need not be referred to the State Government.

13. Of the three levels of personnel-all India Service cadre, district level state service and local cadre, there may be advantages in prescribing different types of compensation. In the first category, it may be necessary to raise the status of all posts connected with tribal development. For the second, effective ^{monetary} incentives and recognising postings in tribal areas should be made a plus point in their career. In the third category, the Team considers monetary and adequate social services amenities like housing, schooling, and health services necessary. The working out of each State Government of an adequate compensation system in tribal areas is recommended. The criteria for the graded scale of payment would depend upon:

- (i) The general backwardness of the tribal area-
- (ii) Health conditions of an area.
- (iii) The distance of Headquarters from pucca roads; &
- (iv) Availability of social services like education and health.

On the basis of the above indicators, a 5-point scale is to be worked out in each State According to this, every person posted to the tribal area gets a

minimum of 10 percent and a maximum of upto 50 per cent on the place of his actual posting. If the extra burden of providing incentives for states with heavy tribal population concentration is heavy for a state, the extra expenditure must be borne by the Central Government. The team is not in favour of forming a special cadre of personnel to work in tribal areas, considering the difficulties in career building of personnel belonging to special cadre at higher administrative levels. The recommendation is that there may be a creation of a special cadre at middle level e.g. medical personnel, where necessary. But, it would be essential to build in provisions for integration of such cadres with state medical cadre. An element of compulsion is suggested for introduction for service in tribal areas for a 4-5 year tenure. Local recruitment of lower cadres where possible is suggested. A reservation of some posts in tribal areas is also recommended. It is also suggested that the percentage of reservation should be related to the percentage of reservation in proportion to the tribal population in a district.

The Committee suggests that all personnel should undergo training for work in tribal areas. Evaluation is suggested of the existing training programmes of the T.R.I.s so that correct training is ^{imposed.} improved. The insistence should be that each officer working in tribal areas should be that each officer working in tribal areas should be conversant with the tribal dialect of the area. The necessity for advance personnel training is stressed. Also, building suitable institutional framework for implementation of policies accepted in principle for tribal areas.

Flow of funds to tribal areas.

In the absence of a clear cut mechanism to ensure flow of funds from general sectors, the Team recommends the consideration of suggestions made by the committee on Plan Projects study Team on Tribal Development (1969). It was suggested that state departments may surrender a proportion of their budget provision, depending on the size of their tribal population in an area, to be merged with special provision under Backward classes sector.

The Task Force recommended the constitution of a committee at the state level to ensure the flow of funds to the tribal areas at least in proportion to the tribal

population in a district.

VI. Report of the Working Group on Personnel Policy for Tribal Areas

The above working group chaired by Dr. R.N. Halidpur and 9 other members was constituted at a late stage. A meeting convened immediately after a formal decision regarding the groups constitution was taken on 12-10-1972 and a draft report drawn up was considered by the Group in their final meeting on 27-11-1972.

A Resume of the Present situation.

At the outset, the Committee mentions the varied complexity of the Indian tribal scene. Mentioning its widely different historical legacy and the resultant administrative structure, the Task force mentions that personnel policies, as supplementaries to the administrative structure, present an equally varied picture.

Four broad categories of tribal areas are given:

1. States and U.T.s with a tribal majority - Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghal^{la}ya, Mizoram and Nagaland.

2. States with large tribal concentrations that are minorities - Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh and Maharashtra.

3. States with Scattered tribal population only as in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal.

4. States with a scattered tribal population as in Kerala Tamil Nadu and West Bengal.

The assimilation process of the tribal areas in the general administrative stream of the country started only after independence and ^{many} tribal areas as parts may be creation of a special cadre at middle level where necessary e.g. medical personnel, but it would be essential to build in provisions for integration of such cadres with a state medical cadres. An element of compulsion is suggested for introduction for service in tribal areas for a 4-5 year tenure. Local recruitment of some posts in tribal areas is also recommended. It is also suggested that the percentage of reservation should be related to the proportion of the tribal population in a district.

The Committee suggests that all ^e personnel should undergo training for work in tribal areas. Evaluation

is suggested of the existing training programmes of the Tribal Research Institutes so that correct training is imparted. The insistence should be that each officer working in tribal areas should be conversant with the tribal dialect of the area. The necessity for advance personnel training is necessary. Also, building suitable institutional framework for implementation of policies accepted in principle for tribal areas. The issue is clinched when the committee states that the tribal areas require a treatment received by other areas in India when the integrated functional approach was envisaged. Its recommendations are in consonance with its analysis of tribal needs.

Scope of the Terms of Reference.

The Working Group has considered the personnel policy and the administrative structure together as being inseparable. The latter subject is beyond the strict terms of reference. But it has noted the Task Forces active consideration of the problems of administrative structure. Hence, for its supplemented suggestions, suitable amendment may be necessary for recommendations relating to personnel policies as suggestions of the Task Force will also have to be considered.

Structure.

The Haldipur Committee's reiterates the point of the Renuka Ray, Alvin and Shilu Ao Committees and the Jhabhar Commission that incentives are necessary to attract personnel of effective caliber and that a correct approach must be cultivated. A separate cadre of workers to man the administrative structure for tribal areas is not favoured. The Constitution of a Tribes Advisory Council is suggested at appropriate levels for associating tribal leaders and voluntary agencies with the programme formulation and implementation.

A three-tier developmental structure at the micro, meso and macro-levels is suggested. The civil was to be the main building block of the strategy. Area and tribal developments were to be suitably intermeshed in reports of the Task Force and various aspects needing special attention came into greater focus.

The Committee's analysis is that a treatment received by the rest of the country 20 years back when an integrated functional approach was envisaged, is

required at present for the tribal areas. As these are in the early stages of economic development, they require a simple administrative structure.

To remedy results of the specialisation of functions viz. under-utilisation of scarce-technical man-power, laxity in administrative control and expenditure, the Committee suggests appointment of a high level officer to attend to numerous specializations in a broad group and a suitable staff to attend to him. Or else, the quality of personnel in the tribal areas may continue to be at a low level.

Adequate adoption of financial and administrative powers and work norms to suit prevailing conditions in tribal areas is necessary. The Committee states further that this can result in greater effectiveness as also enhanced job satisfaction. Some steps recommended to tone up the administrative ^{ara} apparatus serving tribal needs are the grouping of subjects, ^a rationalising of work norms and adequate delegation of powers.

To cater to tribal economic activity where many transactions of a small monetary value take place in

a limited period of time, many persons are required to provide different types of services. The monopoly of small traders and agents controlling the market can be curbed through not substituted by providing an alternative channel of marketing with adequate commodity and area coverages. The establishment of one multipurpose organisation is recommended with a nucleus in each market and a mobile unit to reinforce the local effort and provide the link and channel for flow of commodities and finances. The utilisation for the duration of the market of the manpower resources all Government and semi-Government organisations working in the specified area can be supplemental to this multi-purpose organisation. The total administrative effort for a limited period of time and a high level of supervision envisaged as necessary to function in tribal areas can be possible only with the structuring of administration on the model of a single line agency.

Development Projects

The grouping of Tribal Development Blocks for purposes of planning into Development Projects is suggested

as the former delineated on the basis of population,
area
/and physical features are considered too small for
of an
planning integrated economic development/area.

The man at the village level, the Gramsevak should be an all purpose man and the extension agency should be multipurpose at the village level. Stressing that he should be a confidante of the people with whom identification is necessary, the committee states that a high level of competence is required from a gram sevak working in tribal areas vis-a-vis those working in other areas of the country. Since highly qualified people from tribal areas are not available, the committee suggests elsewhere that personnel at and above the village level should belong to the local area. Another suggestion is that, instead of a big area of the Block being under the charge of a Gram Sevak and the Extension officer being the next technical level above him, it would be sufficient if the second supervisory-cum-technical level is above the village but below the Block level. This may be named the 'Service Centre' and provide to the tribals in an area, the necessary services of education, marketing, credit and health. An Extension Officer in charge of the 'Service Centre' could have overall charge of the

entire area so that the tribal should not ordinarily have to go beyond this level for any of his necessities.'

Development Projects, the Team suggests, may be grouped into viable Economic Development Regions to be co-terminous with an existing district or a group of districts. A high-power development may be set up to administer these areas. Adequate resilience should be built into the system to respond to respond spontaneously to developmental requirement.

The question association of local people with tiers of administration was also considered. Interaction between the administration and people is necessary. But the team states that the careful working out is necessary of the participation in the formal administrative process of the people's representatives and also of interweaving it in the administrative system. The important leadership role of enlightened groups in advanced areas that have come up through various processes in socio-economic development is stressed. Local leadership still has the traditional form and the Team states that in their case the highest priority has to be given to making up the leeway in social, educational economic development of the area in the least possible time. Haste in superim-

position of new unfamiliar patterns is to be avoided for it may result in misuse by vested interests and retard the possible rate of growth. In such cases, strengthening of traditional panchayats is suggested and assigning a progressively participative role in modern economic and developmental activities. The executive agency has to play a vital role realising the urgency of the problem of tribal development and the necessity to formulate time-bound programmes. The simultaneity is stressed of ensuring stimulation of processes to help in the growth of social leadership and enabling them to participate actively in the processes of socio-economic transformation in the near future. The above ~~now~~ outline of administrative structure is only for states with sizeable tribal concentrations.

In states with scattered groups of tribal population, devising of other special structures may be necessary. Preparation of special schemes is suggested for smaller geographical regions where some backward communities are localised. An appointment of an officer is suggested for overall supervision of the programmes in the region and his level may depend on the problems in the area. A redesigning of the administrative structure is suggested and not its duplication. Where necessary, the officer could report

directly to the Chief Executive of the district who may be responsible for implementing the economic development plans. An arrangement with the effect of translating single line agency idea in special circumstances of scattered tribal pockets should be devised.

Personnel Policies

The teams view is that whatever the administrative system, a dedicated group of people can always deliver the goods. Since all members cannot be first rate, an administrative structure has been envisaged given an average quality of personnel.

Present Position: A Review.

Any personnel policy for tribal areas is visualised only as a sub-system of the system of the general policy in a state. Personnel policies in the past decade have received little attention. A clear distinction ⁱⁿ between policies adopted for developmental functions and those relating to regulatory functioning is also necessary. Personnel policies have not been adopted to emerging needs. A tenure of 3 to 5 years for an officer was envisaged as normal for regulatory departments. Developmental and technical fields have

seen

seen the adoption of the same standards. There are elements of disparity in availability of social services as education and health in different areas. The spiralling prices make it difficult for fixed income groups to keep to the expected standards of living. The Team also points out the unhappy situation wherein postings have come to be a part of the reward and punishment system in personnel administration. Elements of compensation should replace elements of punishment. The issue is clinched with the categorical statement of the Haldipur Committee to the effect that reform in the whole system of administration alone will benefit the sub-system of personnel policy for tribal areas.

Special Problems of Tribal Areas.

Some of the special problems of tribal areas are summarised as follows:

(i) Lack of services as education and health which entails maintenance of double establishments and the resultant consequences of harshship, especially to those working outside the main-towns and in the more interior areas.

(ii) Diseases as malaria prevailing in tribal

areas that adversely affects the personnel.

(iii) Poor communications resulting in a higher cost of living for inavailability of the groups commodity needs. It may also mean stringent working conditions without inadequate compensation.

(iv) Absence of housing facilities in the interior areas and lack of accommodation even on rent. Considerable psychological adjustments are required to descend to the level of general living conditions.

(v) Low prestige value attached to working in tribal areas or in departments connected with tribal development.

Monetary Incentives.

An adequate compensation system prevails in the salary structures in most states except those where special allowances have been provided traditionally as in Arunachal and Andaman. The problem is stated to be particularly acute in the states in category 2 which have sizeable tribal area and are economically backward. In these states, the total financial commitment for any special provision for persons working in tribal

areas in these states is bound^u to be sizeable. The Commission mentions that the problem is overlooked for mere expediency. In principle, the general agreement is that only better officers should be posted to these areas but in effect, many placements are punitive postings.

Dividing the problem of personnel into three parts:-

- (i) Personnel at the district level belonging to state services or junior levels in all-India services; and
- (iii) Personnel in local cadres;

The Maldipur Committee states that the different problems in each category calls for a different solution. For the higher level positions, a higher grading is recommended in view of the traditional apathy to these challenging postings so that better persons can be really attracted. It is suggested that the Director, Tribal Welfare in states with large concentration of tribal population should have the same status as the senior-most head of the Department, preferably that of a Commissioner. The Secretary-In-charge of Tribal Welfare Department should be a senior Secretary so that he is able to have an overview of the working of departments as Agriculture,

Irrigation, and Animal Husbandry in tribal areas.

In the case of personnel of the middle category like collectors or Executive Engineers special recognition of tribal postings may have to be supplemented by monetary incentives.

After the consideration of various alternative proposals, the inevitable conclusion is for each state to work out an adequate compensation system for the tribal areas. A graduate scale for payment of compensation would have to consider 4 factors - the general backwardness of the tribal area, health condition in the area, the distance of headquarters from pucca road and availability of social services as education and health. On the basis of this scale, the committee recommends the working out of a 5 point scale in each state so that the extra pay-range will be between 10% and 50% depending on the place of his actual posting. The extra administrative cost may be ^{reimbursed} ~~neutralised~~ by the Central Government. Article 275 of the Constitution makes it incumbent on the Central Government to provide out of the consolidated fund of India as Grant-in-aid of the revenue of the state the necessary capital and receiving sums to enable the state to meet the cost of raising the level of administration of the G.A.S. therein

to that of administration of the rest of the area of that state. In view of this, the Committee recommends that adequate provision for the purpose be made in the Fifth Five Year Plan.

Other Incentives.

Besides monetary incentive, the following facilities could be provided to personnel working in tribal areas. They are:-

(a) Reservation of seats in institutions of higher learning for children of personnel working in tribal areas.

(b) Paying of adequate compensation for higher studies for children of officers if appropriate facilities are not available in the place of their posting.

(c) Granting of special additional casual leave to personnel working in backward areas and all types of to count from the nearest rail-head. The journey from the place of posting to the rail-head should be treated as duty.

The committee also considered whether the financial

incentives and extra facilities it suggested should apply to all categories of personnel or only to some. The committee states that for a clean administration it is necessary to compensate persons belonging to all departments and provide these facilities. Thus all individuals working in tribal areas should be eligible for these benefits.

Special cadres for Tribal Areas:

The Haldipur Committee weighs the pros and cons for formation of special cadres. The constitution of a separate cadre leads to promotion opportunities like the Indian Frontier Administration Service and also problems resultant upon continued posting in more backward areas where health and other circumstances of the individual may not permit him to do so. The flexibility in selection is possible if choice from a bigger cadre is lost as no rigid stand can be taken in this case for all situations and for all specialisations. In some cases even separate cadres may be useful. While tackling the problem of tribal areas, the existing rigid concepts of life long membership of cadres, which are irreversible
by

may have to be changed.

In the case of middle level personnel, it is suggested that there is a sub-cadre within bigger cadres with an element of flexibility. The incentives will help in attracting to the sub-cadres persons who can leave them when their circumstances no longer allow them or when it is found that they were not suitable for these assignments.

In cases where a special cadre or a sub-cadre is not feasible an element of compulsion could be introduced for service in the tribal areas for a 4-5 year tenure. It may be incorporated in the service rules that no promotion or increments after a certain stage will be allowed to individuals in those cadres if they fail to serve in tribal areas for the stipulated period.

The field functionaries like the Gram Sevak and Extension Officer will necessarily have to be grouped in small cadres as is the general position today. Any change in this structure will not be necessary.

Personnel in the Field Level Cadres:

With the increasing tempo of development in the entire country and the rising national educational level, the job opportunities in backward areas are

comparatively better and the competition less ^{severe} ~~service~~.
The result has been the migration of many ~~unwilling~~ unwilling persons in search of jobs to the tribal areas. An unhappy consequence is that many of them tend to identify themselves with the vested interests and in the peculiar socio-economic situations in the tribal areas, this phenomenon inhibits development of a confidence between the people and the administration. Many of them do not identify themselves with tribal problems and it affects implementation of the Government policies. In this context, it is necessary that in the lower cadres, personnel should be drawn from the local communities. The present rigid cadre structures for lower functionaries that are district or block-based may block the mobility of these personnel to other areas. An unwilling person is a liability to the whole process of economic development. The committee suggests that in categories like patwaris, Forest Guards, ~~Revenue~~ Revenue Inspectors and Extension Officers, the replacement of outsiders by local persons may be facilitated by giving adequate facilities to those wanting to opt for their own home town districts or other areas. The committee's step will go a long way in developing a new relationship between the administration and the tribal communities.

Qualifications for Recruitment.

The question of qualifications for recruitment for posts in tribal areas was also considered. It is stated that for all persons belonging to a state-level cadre or a sub-cadre of a state level cadre, qualifications have to be the same. In case of cadres at the district-level state-wide uniformity is not essential. Since tribal areas have lagged cadres, the local representation is small. If the general level of education in tribal areas is low, the Haldipur Committee's opinion is that there should not be unnecessary inflation of qualifications in these areas as well following the national pattern. The minimum qualifications could be pegged to the minimum actually required.

Reservations:

The Committee states that the present reservation in services at all levels correspond to the proportion of tribals in the total population of the State. This principle is logical in the case of state services with competition at the state level. In case of All India Services, reservation of S.T.s has also to be on the basis of their total proportion in

the country's total population. However, for the district^{ri} and lower level cadres^{this} acts adversely against the tribal representation in the services. Similarly, in block-level cadres, reservation may be fixed on the same principle to help in changing complexion of the personnel structure in lower echelons and to be conducive to the fast economic development of these areas.

Policy for Transfer.

As stated earlier, transfers have become a part of the reward and punishment system adversely affecting personnel administration of tribal areas. Commenting on the low prestige value of jobs connected with tribal welfare, there is disinclination on the part of many to continue for long in these assignments. But, on the other extreme, the tenure of individuals particularly of low cadres continues to be extraordinarily long either because no replacements are available or there is no conscious effort^{or} to do so. Since group and are a part of the administrative and economic elite, they wield considerable power and authority. These functionaries are changed before they

get entrenched in a locality. In regulatory departments Junior Officers should not stay in the same areas for more than 5 years. Where an officer is invaluable in long term planning and development programmes of the areas, liberal extension of the tenure is suggested.

Training.

Having recognised the necessity of suitable training programmes for officers working in tribal areas, the committee mentions that a number of institutions are conducting re-orientation training programmes for officers working in tribal areas. The routinizing of cases is mentioned in the absence of proper evaluation and follow up programmes. The committee comments on each institution and state working in isolation, and the sporadic training programmes for some senior officers. It further states that as such, review and reinforcement of training programmes seems, imminent. This work could be taken up urgently in Tribal Research Institutes and there should be formulation at the national level for appropriate guidelines for training of senior officers. It is suggested that the Department of Social Welfare should have a special unit to review the training

programmes and facilities for personnel working in tribal areas. Its suggestion is that the unit should work under the overall guidance of the training division in the Department of Personnel.

Knowledge of Local Dialects.

The Committee notes that officers working in tribal areas are not conversant with local dialects and that in regulatory administration, this results in a deep gulf between the people and the administration. In developmental administration, extension of any kind is unimaginable in the absence of an easy communication channel between the extension agent and the people. This lack of communication is disastrous for the spread of communication in backward communities since the students learn by rote and are familiar only with the alphabet and so ^{do} not know the meaning of the words learnt. The approach to the varying situation is also varied. In some states, incentives are given for learning local dialects. In many areas, very few dialects are ^{recognised} regionalised in number. In some cases, the recognised dialect variation as the standardised version may be different from the local version.

For the purpose of incentives, in Madhya Pradesh, Gondli is a recognised dialect but Abujhmari, its variation, is not recognised. As such, there is no incentive for persons working in Abujhmari to learn the dialect. Dialects of smaller groups working in are not recognised at the state level and the problem is pressing. In Madhya Pradesh, Dorli is not a recognised dialect and as few teachers know it in south Bastar, education has made no head-way amongst the Dorlas. The recommendation is that adequate incentives by way of cash awards should be introduced for learning of local dialects by officers belonging to all departments tribals dialects irrespective of the number of its speakers should be recognised for purposes of the incentive scheme.

Mentioning the insufficiency of incentives and the element of compulsion to learn tribal dialects, it is suggested that every individual joining a local cadre should learn the local dialect within a year, and this should be incorporated as a condition of his appointment. It is suggested that failure to learn the local dialect within a year should end ⁱⁿ automatic ^{ally} termination of services. The committee suggests that officers

belonging to state and all India Caires posted to these areas should also be expected to learn the local dialect within a year and that, otherwise, an adverse entry in their character roll should be made and further increments may be stopped.

Employment Exchange

An important difficulty faced by the tribals in getting suitable employment even in areas of their own concentration is lack of facilities to know the vacancy position in various establishments, difficulty in getting application forms, timely submission and communication for interview and appearing before the Board. According to the committee, there are few tribals in urban areas even in regions of tribal concentration. Even educated tribals do not have a foot-hold in the urban Centres where all employment opportunities arise and the relevant information is easy. After completion of his education, a tribal attempts once or twice to get a job and then goes back to his village as he can ^{all} ~~afford~~ 'staying on in a city without adequate financial support. Special procedures should be devised by employment exchanges keeping in view their difficulties, ~~prop~~

prepare separate lists of tribals and make special offer to keep them informed about job opportunities. Advance notices could be given to tribals and other facilities extended to them for timely information. Payment for the interview could be made by public enterprises or the State. Accountability should be of the Tribal Welfare Department to see that Public sector enterprises in each district are taking necessary steps.

No rigid over view at a national level can be taken regarding the question of establishing special employment exchanges exclusively for tribals. In the vicinity of new industrial enterprises located in a tribal areas, such an employment exchange can guard the special interests of tribals and extra facilities may be provided.

Personnel Policy in Public Sector Enterprises

Discussing the personnel policy for the public sector enterprises, the Committee states that existing Government directions for adequate reservations for S.T.s in the public sector enterprises has not benefitted tribals as the problem was not considered in its totality. Reservation can be helpful only
X.XX XXX XXXXXXXX
when the required

when the required skills are available. In the initial stages, the industrial and tribal cultures are different so that local people may not even provide the regular unskilled labour in a manner insisted on by the industry, so far it has been a one sided affair. The industry is concerned with its own commercial and economic learning. There must be a process of acceleration of the learning of skills by the tribals. Establishment of an industry cannot transform the community overnight. On its part, the industry must concern itself not only with limited industrial venture but also in the integrated development of the hinterland also a Comprehensive planning can help the full integration of the industry into its background.

A change is called for in the dry and formal approach of industrial enterprises. An advance personnel planning preceding the starting of an industry in a tribal area ^{would ensure} a speedier flow of social inputs like education and yield two benefits: create a climate for the future and enable the target group to be self-reliant. Educated people could also be trained in advance. Each Industrial enterprise in tribal areas should have a high-payer cell under the Chief Executive to work as

suggested above and review in continuity this important dimension of the regional socio-economic development. The State and Central Governments should also have special cells to review the process of integration of industrial enterprises with their hinterland. Finance should not come in the way of these programmes. If the industry is causing dislocation of the local socio-economic life of simple communities, the industry or state must under write fully at least these programmes which even when successful can only partially mitigate the people's suffering. Suitable training programmes for officers of public sector enterprises may help in formation of a correct perspective of tribal problems.

Industrial Frame for Implementing Personnel Policies:

The Committee then examines the final issue of ensuring the implementation of personnel policies even when accepted in principle. The general opinion is that officers of superior calibre should be posted to tribal areas. But these high principles are not articulated in terms of ~~specific~~ concrete procedures and there is lack of institutional support. Hence, the need is stressed to build up suitable institutional frame work

for implementation of policies accepted in principle for tribal areas.

A unified single line administrative system has been recommended earlier by the Haldipur Committee. The leader of this administrative team, by whatsoever nomenclature he may be called, could be made responsible for implementation of these policies in the field and should be given sufficient authority for co-ordination by various organisations. In concrete terms, the collector should be kept informed of postings of all officers to the tribal areas in the district by Divisional Heads of the Departments. A number of other measures at the higher structures of administration are suggested to ensure that persons of high calibre are posted to these areas.

While the above institutional checks are considered adequate for implementation of personnel policies for tribal areas, since the Union Government has a specific responsibility under the constitution of good governance of tribal areas, a Committee in the Personnel Department should be specially constituted for this purpose. The postings to key positions in Tribal Welfare Departments should be reviewed by a Committee.

Conclusion.

The Maldipur Committee points out the critical stage reached in personnel policies in the tribal areas. The personnel structure is not as yet a part of the local social ethos and the two behave as exclusive systems. Since the response of the local tribal situation in most areas is different in its social reaction from advanced areas, a climate of trust between the tribal social system and personnel structure should be created. It would help to assimilate the tribal people in the mainstream of the national life. Early implementation is pleaded of the bare minimum steps suggested.

Scope and Presentation

The report goes beyond the strict scope and discusses administrative structure, a related topic. Its plea for a superior calibre of officers to work in tribal areas is repetitive but it has cautioned about the critical stage reached in this matter.

PART III. C O N C L U S I O N

Tribal welfare became a special concern of the nation in post-Independent India and tribal rights were enshrined in Article 46 of the Indian Constitution. During these years, there have been many approaches to the problem of tribal development.

In 1952, the Community Development Movement launched the first effort in India with rural areas as the clientele. Development Blocks became units of mechanism for upliftment of tribal^{and} other rural areas. In 1958, the Renuka Ray Committee studied tribal development at the national level and also some Blocks started in 1957. Its emphasis was on the integrated approach with balanced priorities in the following order:

- a. Economic development.
- b. Communication, and
- c. Public Health.

Certain shortcomings inherent in the initial stages of a programme such as inadequate data for planning, multiplicity of schemes and shortage of qualified personnel were mentioned. But, continuity of Blocks as units or mechanism for implementation of schemes

was recommended. In 1959, the Surendra Singh Committee, mentioned in this study as a secondary source, focussed on agriculture and personnel. In the same year, the Elwin Committee focussed on the working of S.M.P.T.D.B.s and examined the implementation of this scheme after visiting 20 Blocks. It reasserted flexibility in the schematic budget as recommended by the Renuka Ray Committee. Expenditure-wise, the Elwin Committee's priorities in the Blocks were:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| a. Schemes for economic development | 60 per cent |
| b. Communications | 25 per cent |
| c. Social Services | 15 per cent. |

It also recommended a simplification in the nomenclature of the Blocks from S.M.P.T.D.B.s to T.D.B.s. This report placed more emphasis on animal husbandary underplayed by the Renuka Ray Committee Report and while giving details of economic development, it also mentioned a spiritual linkage between the tribal, his land and forests. In the first decade of planned development for tribals, ⁽¹⁹⁴⁹⁻⁵⁹⁾ there were two phases; the focus shifted from education in the first phase to economic development in the second. As in every

initial stage of a new scheme, the start was slow and the approach was sectoral.

In the second phase of tribal development, (1960-69) the Dhebhhar Commission (1960), a Statutory Commission appointed in pursuance of the provisions of Article 339 of the Constitution, had wider terms of reference. This commission mentioned a mixed impression of the tribal development plans on the minds of the people. Absence of adequate systematic studies made qualification of the progress difficult. However, a pointed reference was made to some tribal problems - loss of land, heavy indebtedness, the usury of money lenders, contractors and traders and the prevalent system of bonded labour. Curtailment of forest rights and privileges and absence of an integrated approach to tribal development were pointed out. The latest potential of people was expected to be tapped by the Community Development Programmes. Panchayati Raj would tackle the problem of human emancipation. In 1962, the Bhargava Committee deliberated on cooperatives for tribals when it studied cooperatives for backward classes. In 1971, the Bawa Committee also re-studied cooperatives in tribal areas of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh

and Orissa. The Hari Singh Committee(1966) studied tribal economy in relation to Forest Areas. This was the first scientific approach in forestry to tribal development. These two reports of 1962 and 1966 in the second phase of tribal development viz. cooperatives and forestry. Towards the end of the second decade in 1969, the Shilu Ao Committee again studied the tribal problem from a wider^r angle. It was chaired by a tribal for the first time and mentioned the consensus regarding improvement of position in the tribals and also of a definite impact made in the sectors of agriculture and education in tribal areas. But, the absence of concrete data did not enable to say with certainty if the progress was marginal or appreciable^e. At the same time, the Shilu Ao Committee mentioned the need for levelling a gap in the developmental levels of various tribal communities. It further added that delay in protecting tribal rights worsened the position and a marked imbalance in tribal development was noticeable. The problems of tribals at a primitive stage of technology were urgent. The Shilu Ao Committee reviewed tribal development programmes during the third plan and made detailed recommendations regarding lines of orientation of

schemes in the Fourth Plan for accelerated progress, strengthening of administrative machinery and harnessing tribal leadership. It raised the issue of the extent to which tribals benefitted from these schemes.

By this time, it became evident that in tribal welfare, economic development still took priority. Major handicaps identified were tribal indebtedness, land alienation, inadequate communication and educational backwardness. Inter and intra-tribal disparities in development were highlighted and the suggestion was for a symbiosis of the T.D.B. concept and the area approach concept after conducting socio-econ-techno economic surveys in the field. Further suggestions made for a clearer definition of principles, new criteria to classify tribes and greater concern for members of denotified communities. The recommendations were that T.D. programmes should be exhibited separately and not as a part of the social services. A flexible budget was recommended in place of the schematic budget that continued.

During the period of the Fourth Plan an informal Expert Committee went into the matter of tribal development

Tribal Research Institutes were established in many states as Assam and Bihar. In the latter half of the Second Phase of tribal welfare, development took a symposial turn. During 1966-1969, the programmes suffered as there was no plan as such and the T.D.^Bs did not obtain their normal allotment of funds due to constraints.

(1970 74)
In the third phase of tribal welfare in India, ~~(1970-74)~~
the emphasis continues to be on economy. Besides education, the themes of land, forests and cooperation again dominate tribal development. The approach is scientific. Economy and education still take priority but ecology dominates the scene. In 1971, the Bawa Committee mentioned earlier in this portion (Part III) of the present study studied the functioning of T.D.A. Projects. The cooperative structure named LAMPS for tribal areas is linked at the micro, meso and macro-cooperative units at the Block level in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh at Srikakulam, Singhbhum, Gunjam, Koraput and Bastar -I Dantewada and Bastar- II (Konta) respectively. In the same year, the Appu Committee highlighted problems of land alienation and relief from indebtedness. It studied

the work of a Central Sector Scheme in 1971, according to which a T.D.A. was set up. Projects^{were} in six selected areas in the 4 states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The main objective was to improve tribal economy with time-bound programmes to integrate them with the rest of the community. By the building up of a cooperative structure on the pattern of LAMPS and by providing employment, debt relief and allotting of land, Government sought to resolve the Naxalite movement by channelising the energy to a constructive task. Finally in 1974, the new policy seeks to rectify the inter-tribal, intra-tribal and tribal-regional aspects of uneven and differential development highlighted by the Shilu Ao Committee. In 1960, the Dhebhhar Commission had stated that there were 4 groups of tribals and that of these one group did not require special help. The policy of 1974 seeks to answer the main problems pertaining to tribals. These relate to indebtedness, land alienation, educational backwardness and inadequacy of communications. While stating that action has lagged behind the weighty recommendations made by the high level bodies, the suggestion is that maximum use be made of available resources in tribal areas. Variation of regional needs

is mentioned. As such tribal priorities should be based on socio-economic ^{services} ~~surveys~~. It states that the chief task of the newly appointed Parliamentary Committee on the welfare of the S.C.S and S.T.s is to consider how far the Constitutional safeguards are being given effect to and also to measure the effectivity of the S.C. and S.T. Commissioner's report. In the new ^estrategy, the concept of the sub-plan area is shaped prominently by the economic viability of the projects. The problems of hinterland are considered and there is stress on inter-regional communication. The physical features, the developmental level of different tribal communities and the natural resources of the area are to be considered. The stress is on urgency and region-specificity of tribal problems.

The concept of the unit of a block for tribal welfare is a translation of the philosophy of a planned approach. Initially, the block was a small unit and the accent was on intensification. There were 43 Blocks named S.M.P.T.D. Blocks (1959). In the second phase, there was dilution of coverage and increase in the number of blocks to 480. The Blocks were renamed as T.D. Blocks (1961). Ancillary industries and animal husbandry were

also planned. For, towards the end of this phase, regional priorities and emerging differences with the level of development were also focussed upon.

The T.D.B.s (1961) were variations of the S.M.P.T.D.B.s. with the emergence of the Integrated Project in 1974, there was enlargement of the block as a unit and the approach was integrated. With the change in nomenclature into I.T.D.P. and an extensive coverage (504 Blocks), the mechanism continues to be basically the same with suitable variations. In the present stage, area-wise, a bigger unit is suggested. The grouping of T.D.B.s into compact Development Projects is suggested. Area development may be taken up as a phased programme for I.T.D. Plans to cover the entire tribal area by the end of the fifth Five Year Plan.

The 1974 policy makes special mention of:

- a. Isolated small groups living at pre-agricultural technological level.
- b. Zones of influence of big mining or industrial enterprise.
- c. Hinterland of a big urban centre, and
- d. A sparsely populated forest region⁶

The linkage with other regional areas is also stressed.

The absence of systematic surveys does not permit with definiteness, an overall development of tribal people in post-Independent India. The new strategy calls for a redefinition of tribal development in concrete terms and its treatment as an integral part of social and economic development for which a purposive leadership should come from the national level.⁷ Shortfall in one programme was expected to upset the entire scheme. A review of high level politics is also suggested in areas affecting the tribals to bring them in line with the objectives and requirements of integrated tribal development and social justice.⁸ This review should include forest, industrial and mineral development and excise administration policies. Individual welfare approach and schematic block development approach are inappropriate for tribal areas. It is considered that the tribal majority in the North-east is in compact, viable units whose plans in effect are also underwritten. Hence in those areas, there are no plans of tribal development.

Elimination of exploitation is given top priority and programmes in the fields of marketing, credit, supply of consumer goods and even informal rationing ensuring commodities at reasonable prices are considered urgent. The extremely backward areas became a special charge on the Central Government during the Fifth Five Year Plan and special assistance may be given to them for integrated development programmes. Hence Central Sector programmes should cover the problems of isolated and minor backward tribal communities. There is also the problem of culture-confrontation arising from gigantic industrial complexes in tribal areas. Tribal development is ^wnow considered an urgent, national and time-bound task requiring considerable restructuring of administrative and economic institutions.

Investments made for tribal welfare are only identifiable under welfare of Backward Classes Sector. The latter is supplementary to whatever provision is available for tribal development and S.A.S. under general sectors. While larger expenditures have been ~~x~~ incurred for the S.T.^{as} ~~under~~ compared to total size of the Plan, the proportionate expenditure for this purpose has diminished as indicated by the tables.

Table - 7

(Rs. in crores)

Plan period	Total Plan	Scheduled Tribes	Percentage.
First Plan	1960	19.93	1.0
Second Plan	4672	42.92	0.9
Third Plan	8577	50.53	0.5
1966-69	6756	32.32	0.5
Fourth Plan	15902.2 (outlay)	75.00	0.04

Plan-wise expenditure is given in the following Table: (Rs. in Crores)

Group of Schemes	Expdr.in First Plan	Expdr.in 2nd Plan.	Expdr.in 3rd plan.	Expdr.in 1966-69
Plan-wise				
I. Education	5.10	7.84	13.51	9.32
II. Eco. Development	4.59	20.00	30.71	24.07
III. Health, Housing and others	10.14	15.08	6.31	1.93
TOTAL:	19.83	42.92	50.53	35.32

An assessment of the programme indicates that it has fallen short of expectations although there is a change in the tribal outlook

particularly in sectors of education and agriculture. The impact made in these two areas has been mentioned earlier. A smaller entity of tribal blocks may be the main reason of shortcoming of the programme preventing its taking on schemes like soil conservation, major and medium irrigation schemes, education at secondary level and technical education.

Most reports are repititive in contents and recommendations. Also, paragraphs are not thematic or in logical order. For instance, there is repeated emphasis on the quality of personnel posted in tribal areas. This is mentioned in most reports in portions relating to S.d and non S.d areas, Administration and structure and also various sectors as Agriculture, Health and Education. Similar is the case of topics such as giving incentives to various personnel to create their response, of knowledge of tribal customs and traditions for non-tribal personnel serving tribal areas. The Shilu Ao Committee has dealt with the problem of tribal development in a concise and pointed manner. The priorities of the various Committees are indicated in diagram 1.

P.T.O.

DIAGRAM : 1

1
Renuka Ray Committee: 1959
a. Economic Development and Communications.
b. Education, and
c. Public Health

2
Surendra Singh Committee : 1959
a. Agriculture
b. Personnel

3
Elwin Committee: 1959
a. Economic Development
b. Communications
c. Social Service

4
Dhebbhar Commission: 1960
a. Economic Development
b. Education
c. Health
d. Communications

5
Bhargava Committee: 1962
a. Organisations - Cooperatives at primary and Secondary levels.
b. Cooperative building of forest and agri- culture based industries.
c. Indebtedness.

6
Hari Singh Committee: 1965
a. Forests
b. Replacement of inter- mediaries.
c. Uniform programme for the nation with concentration on central belt.
d. Building of cooperatives.

The above set of tables indicates priorities of various committees.

7	
Shilu Ao Committee:	
1969	
a. Economic development	
b. Educational backwardness.	
c. Inadequacy of communications	

8	
Bawa Committee:	
1971.	
a. Cooperative movement	
b. Linkage at micro, meso and macro level.	

9	
Appu Committee	
1971.	
a. Relief of indebtedness	
b. Land alienation, and	
c. Restoration in Tribal Development Agency Areas.	

10	
Basic Policy Papers	
1974	
a. Agriculture	
b. Land ownership, irrigation, improved methods of agriculture	
c. Livestock	

The above set of tables indicates priorities of various committees.

Certain developments that have shaped the strategy are mentioned below in brief. In the First and Second Plans, the emphasis, as judged by financial allocations, was on education. But, economic development of an unimagined magnitude envisioned in the second Plan necessitated the establishment of more T.D.B.s. There were also increasing collective tribal articulations such as the Jharkhand movement, the demands for political equalisation as in the north-east (Nagaland or Mizo Hills) and the stirrings among the plains tribals of Assam. These challenges have led to a pressing demand for emphasis on the quality of personnel, the importance of cooperatives and organisation in tribal areas and also seeking tribal participation and response for a smoother and speedier change. T.D.A.s have been set up in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Felt needs of tribal groups and effecting change through their agencies are considered important as the response has been poor or indifferent in some areas. A greater appreciation of tribal culture is imperative in understanding their problems and the new approach is expected to result in equity.

The following equations illustrate sectoral accent on development of tribal welfare:

<u>DIAGRAM : 2</u>		
P I	(1) 1949-1956	: e_1
	(11) 1957-1959	: e_2
P II	1960-1969	: $e_2 + \begin{matrix} - - - \\ e_1 \end{matrix}$
P III	1970-1974	: $e_1 + e_2 + \begin{matrix} - - - \\ e_3 \end{matrix}$
P IV	1975	: $e_1 + e_2 + e_3 + Ae_4$
P - Phase λ		e_1 : Education
A - Anticipating		e_2 : Economic development
- - - Emergent Sector -----		e_3 : Ecology
		e_4 : Equity

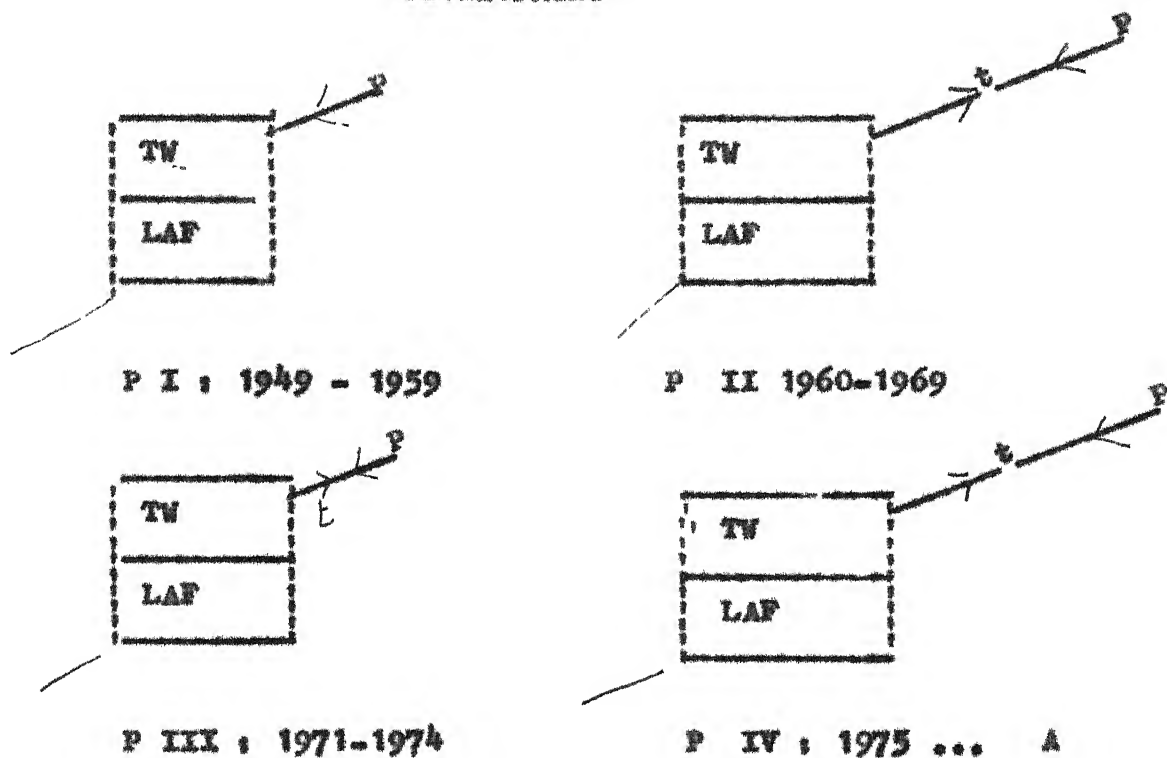
The Dhebhhar Commission said in its Report (1961) ^{it mentioned that} that one segment of tribals among the four segments₂ did not require special help. The Shilu Ao Committee (1966) again drew attention to this issue. By 1974, uneven and differential development and regional imbalances are again focussed upon in the Basic Policy Papers. Certain tribal groups and areas have witnessed phenomenal growth. A new phenomenon is that of the emergence of the power elite.

Among the leaders, the younger segment is educated and more dynamic than the older generations. A few among both age-groups are of the view that perpetuation of privileges for tribals does not help in building self-reliance or a meaningful tribal response as a community. Within three decades of Independence, a few among this handicapped group constituting nearly 8% of the Indian population are participating in the process of development/^{and} also shaping to a certain degree Governments tribal policy. Unless there has been an impact of education or economy (and tribal economy revolves round land), would this be possible? From a minimal to marginal participation, the current extent of tribal participation is appreciable. The 'subject' tribal culture has become increasingly a 'participant' culture and is now increasingly a 'power' culture. The following diagram illustrates this:

P.T.O.

DIAGRAM : 3

DEVELOPMENT



LAF	:	Land and Forests
T	:	Tribes or Tribal
t	:	Where participation is marginal
W	:	Welfare
P	:	Planners (non-tribals)

A major issue is that of 'backwardness'.

And, increasingly, economic backwardness becomes an increasingly important criterion.

In the current concern for tribal development in India, the approach is psychological. Refinement of technique is considered necessary as any imposition is unthinkable. The magnitude of the task and the goal of universal coverage necessitates elimination of any

waste - whether of time, energy, talent or resources. The scientific approach to schemes of agriculture, horticulture, silviculture, arboriculture and pisciculture in tribal areas indicates the importance of ecology in tribal economic development. A cooperative approach through the media of education and economy are believed to deliver the end-product of tribal betterment. Speed and compulsion are cautioned against and tribal development is envisaged both in relation to groups and areas.

The major ten Reports dealt with the percent study have directed strategy for tribal development although much remains to be done. There is now consensus that modernisation is inevitable and has to be unherded gradually with the help of tribal institutions and the response is to be evoked by introducing tribals to appropriate or intermediate technology. Tribal dormitories are to be revived or reshaped into cultural centres. Tribal medicine-men are to be motivated to be the new opinion-builders and tribal medicine is given a new status. Tribal approach to health-care and medicine are being researched into and government has taken the decision to set up Institutes for the above purpose.

One such Institute will be set up in Arunachal Pradesh. In agriculture, in many areas, threshers and combines play an important role. Terracing is a common feature of the tribal agricultural landscape and the Japanese method of paddy transplantation is a common word among many tribals. Tubewells with bamboo lining costing nearly Rs.500 in place of Rs.5,000 normally required and with a service-expectancy of nearly 5 years were successful in some backward areas in Bihar and were also tried in Assam nearly 5 years ago. There is greater appreciation and better perception of tribal problems at the national level. The new approach to tribal development is participating and progressive and has attempted to synchronise area and group development of tribals.

The problem of S.A.s. and non- C.A.s still continues and its abrogation has not been accepted entirely. But, tribal groups have been increasingly clamouring for inclusion in S.A.s and the legislation effected has been referred to in Part II of this study. Certain anomalies do persist but, as stated earlier, certain groups or areas are advanced. The new sub-plan is expected to deal more effectively with the problem of dilution of coverage and denotified tribes. In the

the meantime, the entire country is covered by T.D.B.s. There is a demand for high level bodies at the national level for tribal welfare for various sectors also for separation of tribal welfare from general welfare or Backward classes' Welfare. In Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, Ministers have been appointed for tribal welfare. In Andhra Pradesh, a Minister for tribal welfare was appointed during 1971-1974. An increasing and viable impact on development is felt in agriculture and education in tribal areas. A substantial increase in the population of most tribes from 30 million in 1951 to above 48 million in 1978 has been mentioned in the present study in Part II. The concept of controlled fertility by modern contraception is familiar in many tribal areas. Certain prejudices against surgery have also been removed.

However, area-wise and even at the inter and intra-group ranges there has been a polarisation of benefits and opportunities within the tribals. A new class of elite has emerged perhaps widening the gap between the tribals themselves. In the north-east the hill-tribals have advanced more than the plains tribals. In yet other areas as in Western India, the few hill tribals have not scored over the plains tribals.

Various legislation of the Government to control money-lending, granting of debt relief and scaling down of debts, schemes for the ending of bonded labour, reservation of S.T.s to posts in Central and other services, allotment of land to tribals, increasing facilities for education, health, industry and agriculture and evaluation of the work done by regular conference and T.R.T.s in the country indicate the action taken by Governments on certain problems focussed by these committees. A uniform or rigid approach, a schematic budget have changed very recently. The alternative approach suggested by the Dhebar Commission remains as a recommendation on paper. A Central Institute for tribal studies is also to be established ^{as yet.} Much remains to be done also in the sphere of forestry for tribals. The Elwin Committee, Surendra Singh Committee and Hari Singh Committee, pointed out the primacy of the tribe-forest spiritual link. A welcome sign is the recent stress on area- and region-specificity of problems.

Certain basic and urgent issues have been raised by the Reports. The issue of extinction of the ^{Sentinelese} ~~Shompens~~ ^{and} ~~or~~ Andamanese or adverse effects on the tribal anatomy

owing to deforestation (a reduction of height by an inch of the Todas over a two generation span)* are also issues of immediacy and conscientization. Tribal development has also ethical dimensions. The increasing tendency to ask for legislation or bureaucratic rigidity may well be balanced by voluntary agencies and tribal systems^Δ themselves. The problems of denotified tribes also need adequate attention. Some rethinking is necessary even in the social services sectors of health and education. In industry, thought has been given to tribal industries and artisans, and in agriculture, ancillaries such as agriculture and livestock have been considered. But, in the sector of Public Health, the problem of water has been mentioned as an urgent ^{one} are while sewage, sanitation or eating places in these areas have not been referred to.

The new policy suggests increasing cooperation, communication and conscientization as steps to the challenge of tribal development ~~in~~ both for the tribes and the nation. The impact of development is visible in some tribal areas. the hinterland tends to get neglected. In the industrialised areas of the Central Belt, there is scope for stabilising the disrupted tribals. In yet other areas, tribal culture can form an important part

* Survey conducted by A.S.I. 1975.

of tribal education and there is scope for recognition and multitudinal dimensions make the development of tribals a challenge that is all the more compelling in view of the democratic ideology and social and distributive justice. In view of the current trends, the linking of tribal development to coarchy or an equal-power relationship is not ruled out. An ^emergent healthy trend is evident towards symbiosis in tribal development.

The role of voluntary agencies and the human approach need to be stressed here. To be meaningful, development can best be communicated through education and propaganda and consistency in the effort of multi-disciplinary workers, the social scientist the administrator and the planner, the tribal and the non-tribal.

In sum, the current approach to tribal development seeks to make a reality of the Panchsheel^{del} Policy of Jawaharlal⁹ Nehru, the stress on tribal genius mentioned by Rajendra Prasad;¹⁰ and the qualitative emphasis¹¹ stressed by Elwin in his Philosophy for the NEFA.

In the new approach where economic considerations alone do not dominate, ethno-centricism or the heavy hand have no place. Education and health schemes can help achieve the desired equity in tribal welfare. The urgency of the situation in certain areas does not allow for delay or rigidity. The new integrated approach is flexible and scientific and seeks involvement of the tribal community at all levels.

The tribal problem in India is not a problem of more numbers ^{of} the nation. Besides, ethical dimensions it has a global dimension ^{owing to the various sources in} other countries, ^{by way of finance,} ~~on which Government has sought to place a restriction~~, spread of education, improved communication and increasing exchange of expertise in ~~on which Government has sought to place a restriction~~ sectors as agriculture, industries and health. The approaches of Asia, ^{Africa} ~~Australia~~, America, Britain and Canada to tribals as a group ^{belonging to ethnic minorities} are essentially different and the approaches of their Governments have been different.

Taking benefits of development to the inaccessible area and reaching the poorest among this segment of minority are goals to be ^uperused to the very last.

The policy envisaged in 1974 with its goal of universal coverage, approach of synchronisation of area and tribal groups, recommendations of apex organisations at the state and national levels, decentralisation in its administrative structure, ~~xx~~ involvement of voluntary agencies and tribal leaders and supplemental to legislative approach, stress on accountability of administration, personnel of high caliber to work in tribal areas, procedural simplification, region and problem specificities, spatial and regional planning with a tribal orientation and also change in the criterion of general backwardness to economic backwardness, seeks an effective answer to the complex and compelling challenge of tribal development.

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TABLE : 8

Estimated Outlay for Scheduled Tribes
And Denotified Tribes.

(Rs. Crores)

Period	<u>Scheduled Tribes</u>		<u>Denotified Tribes</u>	
	Outlay	Population	Outlay	Population
First Plan 1951-1956	25.0	178.75 lakhs	3.5	2,268,348
Second Plan 1956-1961	47.0	19,000,000	2.9	near 4 million
Third Plan 1961-1966	60.43	22,500,000	4.0	near 4 million
Fourth Plan 1969-1974	100.00		4.50	
Fifth Plan 1974-1979	200.00		19.00	

Source: Five Year Plans

TABLE : 9

Sectorwise Allotment for Tribal Welfare

(Rs. Crores)

Period	Education	Economic uplift- ment	Health, Housing and Other Schemes	Aid to Voluntary Agencies
Third Plan 1961-1966	14.48	37.12	9.55	3.00*
Fourth Plan 1969-1974	22.00	68.00	10.00	N.A.
Fifth Plan 1974-1979	103.90		No separate allocation	N.A.

Source : Five Year Plans.

* Common allotment.

List of some Reports published on Scheduled
Tribes and Backward Classes

1. Annual Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
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Annexure 2

The Planning Commission set up a Task Force on "Development of Tribal Areas" (vide Circular No. PC/S/53(1)/71 dated April 5, 1972) with the following terms of reference :

- (i) ^{To} The review the nature and level of development, identify the present bottlenecks and weaknesses in policies and programmes and suggest corrective measures.
- (ii) To suggest a perspective of development from 1973-74 to 1988-89 in the light of the overall development perspective envisaged in the Fourth Plan.
- (iii) To formulate proposals for the Fifth Plan in the light of the perspective indicating priorities, policies programmes and outlays. As far as possible contents of programmes with geographical coverage should be outlined.

Prof. L.P. Vidyarthi, Head of the Anthropology Department, Ranchi University was nominated as Chairman of the Task Force. The original list of members of the Task Force may be seen at Annexure I. The list was subsequently revised due to transfers of various officers. Revised list of members may be seen at Annexure II.

2. To facilitate working of the Task Force, the Planning Commission constituted five Working Groups on the following subjects :

- (i) Working Group on Identification of Tribal Development Areas and less developed tribal communities (Chairman Prof. L.P. Vidyarthi)
- (ii) Working Group on Legislative and Administrative set-up (Chairman - Dr. B.K. Roy Burman)
- (iii) Working Group on Tribal Development Programmes based on forests (Chairman - Shri S.A. Shah)
- (iv) Working Group on General Programmes and area-wise programmes of Infrastructure and Social Services in Tribal Areas (Chairman - Shri K.V. Natarajan)
- (v) Personnel Policy in Tribal Areas (Chairman - Shri R.N. Haldipur)

Annexure

List of Abbreviations

. APSTCFDC	Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Cooperative Finance and Development Corporation
. ITDP	Integrated Tribal Development Project
. MDD	Decline in Fertility
. MP TCDC	Madhya Pradesh Tribal Cooperative Development Corporation
. NCAER	National Council of Applied Economic Research
. PHC	Primary Health Centre
. PWD	Public Works Department
. SMPADB	Special Multi-purpose Tribal Development Blocks
. SA	Scheduled Areas
. SC	Scheduled Castes
. S.T.	Scheduled Tribes
. TAC	Tribes Advisory Council
. TDA	Tribal Development Agency
. TDB	Tribal Development Blocks
. TWD	Tribal Welfare Department
. TRI	Tribal Research Institute.

